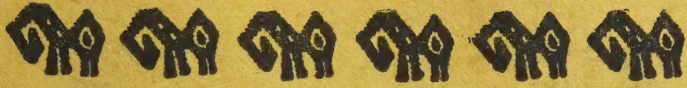

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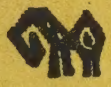

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AS PROTESTANT LATIN AMERICA
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CHRISTIAN VOICES AROUND THE WORLD

AS PROTESTANT LATIN AMERICA SEES IT

Chapters by a Group of Nationals Interpreting the Christian Movement

Assembled and edited by
MILTON STAUFFER
Educational Secretary Student Volunteer Movement

DUPLICATE

Published for the
STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT
FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS
by the
MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
New York

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AUTHORS OF THIS VOLUME

MARCOS SCHWARZ
HENRY ALFRED HOLMES
OTHONIEL MOTTA
SALOMAO FERRAZ
DANIEL ENRIQUE HALL
GABINO RODRIGUEZ
ERASMO BRAGA
E. K. JAIME-DANSKIN

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

MARCOS SCHWARZ is a practising lawyer in Argentina, and is Assistant Librarian in the Faculty of Law, University of Buenos Aires. He has been Secretary-Administrator of the *Initial Review*, and delegate of the Center of the students of law, and delegate of the *Review* to the University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

HENRY ALFRED HOLMES was born in Maine in 1883, and has been a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church since 1895. He took his degrees of A.B. and A.M. in 1905 and 1910 at Wesleyan University, and was appointed to the foreign field, Eastern South America (Montevideo), in 1915. He was professor in the State College for Women, Denton, Texas, in 1925, and is now professor of Latin-American Relations in Pomona College, Claremont, California.

OTHONIEL MOTTA, pastor of the First Independent Presbyterian Church, São Paulo, Brazil, was a student of law before he entered the Presbyterian Seminary. He worked for some time as an evangelist in the hinterland of Brazil, later receiving a professorship in the State Gymnasium, and being appointed to the chair of Portuguese at Ribeirão Preto. After several years of service in Ribeirão Preto and in Campinas, and with the church as an evangelist, he was elected to the pastorate in São Paulo. He is the author of several textbooks for the study of Portuguese.

SALOMAO FERRAZ, pastor of the Brazilian Episcopal Church in São Paulo, is a graduate of the Presbyterian Seminary, the son of a colporteur in the hinterland of São Paulo who later became an independent Presbyterian minister. After several years of

work in the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, he joined the Episcopal clergy and took a parish in Rio, and has been for many years a delegate of that denomination to the Brazilian Committee on Cooperation. He is the author of the reply made by the Protestant clergy of Brazil to the pastoral of an archbishop who indicted the Protestant movement as an agency of the United States for political penetration in Brazil.

DANIEL ENRIQUE HALL was born in Buenos Aires in 1888. He is a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church, an official examiner of candidates for the ministry, and is active in the work of the Sunday schools. He is the author of many articles published in the evangelical press, and official translator for the *Evangelical Review*, which circulates throughout Latin America.

GABINO RODRIGUEZ was born in Spain, and has been resident since early childhood in Argentina and Uruguay. He was graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University, and from the Boston University School of Theology with the degree of S.T.B. His work has been that of minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church in La Plata, Province of Buenos Aires, and professor in the Union Theological Seminary there; co-editor of *El Estandarte*, the official weekly organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Argentina; member of the Finance Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Mission in Eastern South America, and member of the Committee on Cooperation in the Republics of the River Plate.

ERASMO BRAGA, after studying in a mission school where his mother was a teacher, went to Mackenzie College, Sâo Paulo. After graduation from the Presbyterian Theological Seminary he worked as an evangelist in Rio, and became a member of the staff of one of the great daily newspapers. He was made an assistant professor at the Seminary, and held a chair in Mackenzie College. Elected to the chair of Church History and Homiletics,

he became also the Dean of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, then located in Campinas, and afterward professor in the local State Gymnasium. He resigned both positions to become Secretary of the Brazilian Committee on Cooperation. Professor Braga was a Brazilian delegate at the Panama Congress, 1916; President of the Montevideo Congress, 1925; and in 1926 consultative member of the Committee of the International Missionary Council at Rattvik, Sweden; of the Y.M.C.A. conference at Helsingfors; of the World's Student Christian Federation Committee at Nyborg, Denmark; and of the Conference on the Christian Mission in Africa at Le Zoute. He is a member of two regional academies of letters in Brazil, where his books are extensively used in the grammar schools. He is an ex-Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, and Foreign Secretary of the Board of Missions for Portugal.

EARLE K. JAIME-DANSKIN was born in Santiago, Chile, where he received his primary education, continuing in the Stirling High School, Scotland. Returning to Chile, he graduated from the Instituto Ingles, Santiago, and is at present studying in Columbia University. He has traveled in South America and in Mexico, and has contributed articles to Latin-American publications, and to magazines and newspapers in the United States such as the New York *Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Current History*, *The Arts*, *Art and Archæology*, *American Speech*, etc.

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CHRISTIAN VOICES AROUND THE WORLD SERIES

VOICES FROM THE NEAR EAST
CHINA HER OWN INTERPRETER
JAPAN SPEAKS FOR HERSELF
AN INDIAN APPROACH TO INDIA
THINKING WITH AFRICA
AS PROTESTANT LATIN AMERICA
SEES IT

PREFACE

THE present student generation in North America is no longer willing to depend entirely on the foreign missionary for its understanding of Christian movements in so-called mission fields. For practically the same reasons many missionaries are beginning to feel that they have been speaking for the Christian converts of other lands long enough. In the judgment of both these groups the day for the voice of nationals to be heard in our Western churches is at hand. That there are Christian leaders today in almost every land who are sufficiently able to interpret the Christianity of their communities to parent communities in the West, is living proof of the prophetic insight of pioneer missionaries who long ago by faith first caught the vision of this day. To their faithful witness and early sowing, this series entitled *Christian Voices Around the World* is affectionately dedicated.

As never before, the young people of our North American churches and colleges find themselves sympathetic toward the national and racial aspirations of other peoples. Their sympathy leads them to question some of the aims and methods in the Christian missionary enterprise which appear to ignore or run counter to these aspirations. Many of them have

heard their own and foreign fellow-students counsel immediate discontinuance of foreign missions as now conducted, and even express doubt as to whether the missionary enterprise can be longer justified. However able the missionaries may be to deal with perplexities like these, they cannot satisfy the desire of those who are disturbed, to hear the opinion of nationals as well. Not until the Christian youth of North America are convinced that the foreign missionary enterprise is fulfilling, in the judgment of indigenous Christian leaders, the largest needs of the peoples it means to serve, will they be enthusiastically behind it, at home or abroad.

This *Christian Voices Around the World* series has been initiated and sponsored by the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. We have been encouraged from the beginning by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, representing missionaries and foreign mission board secretaries, by the Council of Christian Associations, representing students and student leaders, and by the Missionary Education Movement, representing the mission boards in their cooperative educational work among the churches. In order that the books might be just as readily available to the young people of the churches as to college students, the Missionary Education Movement offered to publish the series, and

has generously put all of its resources for editing and circulation into the enterprise.

In view of the purpose of this series and of the character of the manuscripts a statement of editorial policy is due both authors and readers. Some chapters were written in English, and others came to us as rough translations, manifesting in both cases varying stages of knowledge of the language. Many chapters were in uncertain stages so far as arrangement of material and literary quality are concerned. But more of them than the average reader might suppose were submitted in such form as to require surprisingly few editorial changes. Wherever the grammatical construction in the original was obviously wrong or obscured or impaired the thought, I have not hesitated to change, even drastically, both construction and phraseology. Verbal substitutions in the interest of clarity have also been made. Frequently the idiomatic terms which seemed to have been intended have been supplied. Wherever the meaning could not be determined, rather than risk misrepresenting the author the part was deleted. There have also been the usual editorial exigencies relating to space. Having said this, let me hasten to add that scrupulous effort has been made to preserve the integrity of thought and the individuality of each manuscript. The constant endeavor has been to safe-

guard both the intention of the writer and the underlying spirit of the series.

Annotations by way of directing the reader to supplementary material, or defining the terms used, or suggesting other points of view in the interests of a more balanced presentation, have been omitted. For so many years the missionary's point of view has been presented without annotations from nationals that it now seems only fair to apply the same method the other way around.

Readers will discover defects inevitable to a symposium. There is repetition because of overlapping ground and the inability of the writers to consult together. The contributions are not of equal literary quality, and wide differences of intellectual content exist between chapters. The material is not always what missionaries themselves would have presented, nor is it always the most significant with reference to present phases of missionary interest in North America. On the other hand it is exactly what we have asked for, an honest revelation of what Christian nationals are thinking and saying among themselves. No attempts have been made to reconcile conflicting opinions. Wherever possible the edited manuscripts have been submitted with the originals to consultants from the country concerned for scrutiny of changes made. Obviously the author of each chapter is alone responsible for the facts and the opinions stated.

In planning the volume, *As Protestant Latin America Sees It*, the effort was made to enlist authors from at least six different countries, and thus secure representation of varying national viewpoints. Unfortunately only three of those originally approached were able to accept. The responsibility on the field for securing authors and assembling chapters was generously undertaken by Dr. Webster E. Browning of Buenos Aires, Educational Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America. Dr. Browning consulted with a number of national leaders before finally selecting the authors, and in larger countries worked through local committees.

The group of well-equipped writers among evangelical Christians is not so large in Latin America as in some other countries included in this series; distances are so great, nationality is so varied, and even among those whose knowledge extends beyond local affairs, few claim the ability to write of situations covering all of Latin America. At least half of the chapters were originally written in Spanish or Portuguese and submitted as rough English translations. By way of bringing broader horizons within some of the chapters the editor, after consultation with Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, Executive Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, secured the help of several first-hand students of Latin-American affairs now in this country. Professor Henry

Alfred Holmes of Pomona College rearranged sections of Chapter I and added material of his own. In fairness both to him and the original author this chapter has been credited to both men. Professor James S. Braden of Garrett Biblical Seminary, Evanston, Illinois, in editing Chapter II has added a number of references to movements outside of Brazil. Similarly Mrs. Alva W. Taylor of Indianapolis at our request broadened the scope of Chapter III. To Professor T. F. Reavis of Butler University, Indianapolis, and to Charles J. Ewald of the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A. we are indebted for valuable editorial assistance in connection with Chapters V and VI.

Since this book was written especially for young people in North American churches and colleges, one wishes that the references to international relations were more concrete and numerous. Fortunately our current newspapers and magazines supply this need, though not always with Christian interpretations. The two volumes entitled *Christian Work in Latin America,* edited by Dr. Robert E. Speer, offer the most comprehensive and recent material on the Protestant movement in Latin America.

MILTON STAUFFER

New York
October, 1927

AS PROTESTANT LATIN AMERICA
SEES IT

I

OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE

THE inquirer into the origins of Hispano-American culture will find his investigations leading him back to sixteenth-century Spain, to conditions at once imposing, full of human interest, and pathetic in their suggestion of weakness and decadence. In the striking phrase of García Calderón, "the conquest of Spanish America was the last triumphant expression of a history of violent stoicism—it announced a long, majestic decadence." Few mortals were so gifted with prophetic insight, in the first years after Charles V became head of the Holy Roman Empire, that they could predict the fatal results of separating the flower of Spain's youth from a body politic which numbered scarcely eight millions. Discovery, conquest, colonization, and Christianization went on apace in the Indies, and the complex Spanish empire grew vaster and vaster until a day came when the mother country had no more to give. For generations the weaknesses which had been apparent to the judicious long before the destruction of the Armada in 1588, were covered, after a fashion, by the magnificent exports from the col-

onies; Spain received all of these. Other years pass. On a certain day in 1783 a Spanish minister, Aranda, faces his progressive king, Carlos III, and says: "Your Majesty, I regret that we acknowledge, with England, the independence of the North American colonies." The handwriting on the wall! Even then the Spanish Americans were resolving to imitate their brothers of Saxon America. The sun had set for Spain.

What a strange society was that Spanish world, out of which came the sturdy Basques, the shrewd Catalans, the proud Castilians, the gay Andalusians, who were to give a New World to Spain! Curiously enough, from king to plainest peasant or roughest soldier, a leveling and democratizing process was ever going on, which, without special moral justification but obeying the Spanish habit of individualism, tended to abase the one and elevate the other. Aristocrats, mystics, rogues, "all are equal to the monarch, save in wealth." Roman and Goth and Berber, Greek and Carthaginian and Frenchman, had trodden the Iberian soil but had not made it permanently theirs. The potent personalism of the land leaves its impress on all; the principle of local autonomy, which the New World never forgot, saved Spain from complete domination by the Romish church. A peculiar paradox resulted; the very Spanish ecclesiastics who strove to control emperors and

tribunals were, after all, an influence for democracy. It was not for nothing that later, in America, the local priesthood supported so stoutly the Revolution. Hidalgo of Mexico was a parish priest; Cayetano Rodríguez, a priest of Argentina, wrote the national hymn. "We who are singly as good as you and collectively much stronger than you," says a dutiful address in days of old of Spanish gentlemen to their king.

Spain was imperial, and its empire was baptized in the blood of the Moors, but that very struggle laid a marked mysticism upon the Spanish character. "Not as the conqueror comes" came the Pilgrims to New England; but the *conquistadores* came with the sword, and with the banner of Castile, to win for the cross. When every day for eight hundred years had been a romance on the plateau of Castile and the meadows of Granada, it is small wonder that the occupation of the New World should have seemed to these crusaders a vast drama, and that the colonizers should at times have felt aware of powers superior to the king's, themselves at the very least his peers. Bowing and scraping there might be, in the presence of the monarch or his representatives, but no uniformity and no law could imprison the proud will of the Spaniard or his Creole sons.

Though Brazilian blood has often been called the richest in South America because of the various

strains which compose it, the heritage of many typical Cubans and Mexicans, Colombians, Peruvians and Chileans will also show in varying degree the union of more than one race. Unfortunately we have to generalize here, interesting as it might be to prove in an indomitable Chilean the presence of blood from some far-off Araucanian warrior, or to trace the melancholy of the Mexican to those sombre lords of Anáhuac whom Cortés encountered. On this subject García Calderón says: "Exhausted by heroism, the race declines, mingles with the Indians, imports black slaves from Africa. . . . Races and cities, new rites and customs, all were sprung of the crossing of Iberian and Indian." Of the transformation in character wrought by the new habitat even on those of pure Spanish descent, he says: "The Creole . . . has lost the prickly characteristics of the hidalgo: the proud individualism, the love of bloody adventure, the stoicism, the tenacity in resistance and conflict, and the rigidity of faith. In flexibility, brilliance and grace he has surpassed the Iberian; but his effort is transitory. . . ." The Creole received, as inheritance, ignorance and disdain for labor; hatred of dissident faith; love of acquisition without work; hatred of any foreigner of different religious faith; isolation as a principle of social existence. His inheritance also included lack of roads and bridges; ports systematically rendered inaccessible; multiplicity of convents,

almsgiving and pauperism, all of which hindered the prosperity of agriculture; excessive festivals, with the luxury and vice which marked their observance; encouragement of agreeable laziness which became a source of his poverty, hence of his impotence and dependence.

It is curious to observe how natural conditions have been intimately involved in, if they have not actually determined, the political history of the various Latin-American states. In all South America the dramatic in history seems reserved to Peru, because of her advantages for the easy acquisition of riches, while her poorer sisters, like Venezuela and Argentina, have had to be content with a less glittering rôle. In the various sections ideas, culture, even elementary teaching were sharply contrasted toward the end of the colonial epoch, owing to the diversity of spirit underlying the original impulses which influenced their development.

In simple justice this survey of Spain's bequests to her colonies must include words of commendation. Romera-Navarro writes (*América Española*, p. 24): "From time to time minute questionnaires were sent out from Spain to the governors. They dealt with matters of geography, history, religion, antiquities, arts, sciences, etc. The intellectual curiosity of the kings and statesmen and in general of the whole Spanish nation in that age, concerning the New

World, is unfortunately the only case of its kind in Spanish history." The colonies and the colonials thrived on this attention. Zumárraga, a bishop, writes to the Emperor Charles V that the work he is most concerned for in Mexico is the founding of a school for Indian boys in every bishopric. A commentator on the revision of the colonial legal code which was fostered (1680) by Philip II says that almost every page reveals the humane intentions of that monarch.

True it is that the colonial administrative system was loaded with dynamite for the administrators, but the fault lies with the age. It was an age which could easily wink at such a patent evil as the distribution of the conquered lands among deserving and favorite vassals, and at the Indian slavery which this implied. It was a bungling age politically, but worse than the bungles made were the limitations in action imposed on the colonials. We often hear it said that the latter had an outlet for action in the sessions of the *cabildos*, or local councils, which have been inaccurately likened to New England town meetings. But the *cabildos* could not, either in their make-up or in their functions, represent the whole community. Interference of visiting justiciars, collectors, and ecclesiastics did of course much harm. But even worse was the habit of thinking of the colonials as little children, to be guided and exploited for the king's pleasure.

In not one but a thousand deliberate acts of abso-

lutism, it was plain that Spain was, year by year, weaning the colonies away from her. The strictly monopolistic laws and regulations concerning American commerce, which form a topic too lengthy for study here, illustrate perhaps better than most of the other social situations of the period the shortsightedness of Spain. Let the reader try to imagine the effect of this senseless tutelage on a proud, self-confident people. Let him remember how Pizarro invaded Peru with only twelve men; how Cortés burned his ships behind him. The home government could not deny commercial privileges to descendants of men like these with impunity. Despite the fact that an Argentine rancher had to send his hides to Panama, thence to be transshipped for Spain and certain ports in Spain alone,—and many similar facts—the Spanish-American colonies were markedly prosperous. And prosperity quickened their imagination, and they dreamed of freedom.

What would not enlightenment and toleration have effected, in thought as well as in action? As it was, the Creole passed his days in indolence, in sensual enjoyment of court, and hacienda (plantation) life. "Originality was odious to the rulers." García Calderón, quite unimpressed by the "glory that was Spain," thus paints colonial days and ways in that able work of his, *Latin America: Its Rise and Progress,* from which we have already quoted: "The

cities slumbered. . . . The hidalgo could be neither merchant nor manufacturer. . . . In the café, at social gatherings, he would whisper criticisms. . . . A conventual chapter, or the quarrel of a bishop and a viceroy, or a bullfight, would fill him with ecstasy. Attending mass in the morning, and in the evening driving in a luxurious carriage, he bore himself majestically. At night in his gloomy house he would find his wife telling her beads, surrounded by docile slaves. Sensuality and mysticism were the pleasures of the colonists."

There were, however, other aspects to the life of the early Latin American. The cloud like a man's hand was already in the heavens for the sagacious to see. A natural consequence of unreasonable regulations was the smuggling which flourished like a green bay tree. Consider the evident relation between an attitude that defies the king in order to secure a commodity, and that which dreams of rebellion in order to win political freedom. Let us remember also that Spain could not, at least did not, send companies of young women out to serve as the mothers of the future colonial generations. Maternity remained the privilege of the women native to the land. Miscegenation was the result. In this half-breed society which, speaking broadly, was Latin America, there was a spiritual intermingling as well as a physical; the in-

genuous superstitions of the Indian were mixed with the complicated fallacies of Spanish fanaticism.

The religious life of Latin America inevitably suffered from the conditions described. The Spanish conquest was oftentimes lacking in morality in spite of a superabundance of friars. The endeavor to measure the ethical status of a people by mere statistics may be quite misleading; morality does not necessarily abide in monasteries. Owing to the decadence of Christian faith in Spain after the time of Carlos II, there was throughout the Spanish colonies a vast amount of superstition and a pitifully scant manifestation of real religion. The great mass of people in Spanish America, whether of Indian or African descent, were never truly converted to Christianity, although in a spirit of servility they might pretend to have accepted the faith of their overlords. The Negroes brought their jungle superstitions from Africa, and these naturally corrupted the Catholicism taught by the Spanish friars. The Indian tribes show a more facile adaptation of their religious practices to the external ceremonies prescribed by their mentors. Among the colonials of the middle and wealthy classes, where the proportion of Spanish blood was either considerable or one hundred per cent, religion was little more than a social observance, according to many authorities.

In the mother country had foregathered the moth-

eaten theological traditions of the Middle Ages, which, ejected from the rest of Europe by the Renaissance and the Reformation, found a congenial asylum in theocratic Spain, and after her in her colonies overseas. Nevertheless let us not censure Spain too harshly; she gave all she had, although it was next to nothing when weighed in the balance of a pure and wholesome spiritual conception. Modern history is inclined to find more than one redeeming feature even in the missionary work of the Jesuit Fathers, who were expelled from Brazil and the Spanish-American colonies in 1759 and 1767 respectively. Dr. Carlos Navarro y Lamarca in his *Compendio de historia hispanoamericana* remarks concerning this order:

"From the middle of the sixteenth century one cannot study the history of the American continent without seeing the well-defined trail made by the Jesuits in their apostolic work. They established schools in Peru, Mexico, Chile and elsewhere, they pushed fearlessly into the wild regions of Sonora [northern Mexico] and California, into the forests of Tucumán [northern Argentina], to the margins of the River Mamoré and the Magdalena, and as far as the mountains whence spring the Amazon and the Pilcomayo. They watered with their blood the first settlements of the Portuguese in Brazil, of the French in Canada, and of the Spanish in both Ameri-

cas. It does not lie within the scope of the present history to investigate the alleged excellencies, defects, and vicissitudes of the Jesuits in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We are concerned with their activities and influence in [South] America alone, and in this connection it is but just to recognize that, whether right or wrong, their methods of evangelization and their system of settlements transformed, little by little, the savage habits of the red man into very simple patriarchal customs."

Given the interest, which existed in Spain, in impeding the education of native races for fear of their probable consequent disaffection, it is certain that but for the immediate interest of the religious orders the home government would have even obstructed the establishment of teaching centers for the clergy. The reader may perhaps have gleaned from the pages of works like *Westward Ho!* the idea that the Inquisition was supreme as a molder of Catholic society in the New World. Historians like Robertson in his *History of the Latin-American Nations*, seriously doubt this. They tell us that while this organization combated heresy and sorcery, "its influence on the Catholic faith of the people was slight, while the stifling of the intellectual life cannot be measured." How could it be otherwise, if the holy office was not merely the bulwark of morals and religion but also

more than a little interested in politics and finance, as well as in the protection of the nascent arts, sciences, trades, yes, even the private manners of the colonies, by one of the most effective censorship bureaus ever known to the New World? To quote from Robertson again, "Books, works of art, and even fancy razors were rigidly scrutinized by its ubiquitous agents."

There can be little doubt that the mass of the colonials, when the hour struck for freedom, were ostensibly Catholics. On the other hand, the influence of French revolutionary doctrines, the leadership of men who had become imbued with Jacobin or Girondist thought, indicate that many Latin Americans of 1810 were but lukewarm Catholics, if indeed formally religious in any sense. If there were no other evidence of the absence of personal religion, the very hollowness and artificiality of the inflated rhetoric of those days convinces one that conventional religion was very conventional indeed. The reader may turn to almost any one of the *Tradiciones* of Ricardo Palma, a witty, fascinating Peruvian chronicler who has evoked for us the Lima of the viceroy, and verify this assertion. A modern Mexican writer, Julio Jiménez Rueda, describes the viceroy as yawning stealthily behind his lace kerchief at an *auto de fé*. We may therefore politely discount at least a part of the following from García Cal-

derón's pen: "All through life the pious colonist is surrounded by marvels. He loves nature with an ingenuous faith, and attributes to the saints and demons a continual intervention in his placid existence. An unexpected sound reveals the presence of a soul in torment; a tremor of the earth, the divine wrath; sickness is a proof of diabolic influence; health, of the efficacy of an amulet." Even the wholly incredulous Creole inherited mysticism. Let us think of mysticism as originating in the very temperament previously discussed, that exaggeration of the personality which vaunts free will and energy, and stresses honor above all things. Bolívar had this torrential force, and in his conversations with his associates often touched on his mystic consciousness. It might be claimed with a fair show of truth that San Martín, laying down his command and leaving the countries which his sword had liberated, to dwell thenceforth an exile, revealed the qualities of a mystic. That Peruvian soldier who rode his steed over the lofty cliff at Arica rather than submit to dishonor, as he viewed it, was by that act a mystic.

It is not a long step from the influence of the church as a social factor conditioning the thought of Latin Americans, to the position and influence of the schools during the colonial period. Here again we find much to praise. The North American who considers his seventeenth-century Harvard very, very

ancient will have to bow with a deep, perhaps unwonted respect before the universities of Mexico and of San Marcos, Lima, Peru, founded in 1553 and 1551. Brazil shows us no universities until a much later date, and Brazilian youth were generally sent to Portugal for advanced study; but there were seminaries of high repute in Rio. In the Hispano-American capitals universities arose, a number in the seventeenth century, others in the eighteenth, with well-organized curricula and professors of high repute brought from the Old World. Examine the courses of study offered, for example, by the University of Caracas, founded by a royal decree in the year 1721: Latin, philosophy, theology, music, ethics, medicine, canon law, civil law, and the Scriptures. The influence of these centers of learning on the colonies must have been immense, especially upon those leaders who then, as ever, were responsible for the greater part of all the social and political action in Latin America.

It is, however, to their system of common schools and the early vision of it as a vital necessity that North Americans refer with special pride; and it must be confessed that Latin America had in colonial days little to show in this field. Many Indians, it is true, were instructed by the missionaries and by their masters. Many famous *colegios* (secondary schools) flourished in the centers, and some of these later became universities. The university pedagogical

formulæ were severe. Instruction was given in Latin; scholasticism was much in evidence; logic delighted the subtle, and syllogisms were a perpetual field of cerebration for the dons and their pupils. The former taught by lectures, texts and disputations. General education, says the historian Vicente Fidel López, was limited to the teaching of elementary rules and of such accountancy as might be needed in the more or less simple establishments of the day. Attendance with any degree of regularity whatsoever was limited to the children of families with means. Others were in grave danger of remaining in dense ignorance. It was deemed immoral that women should be able to read, and still more scandalous that they should be able to write. If young women of the better families could read their missals, if they could appreciate the love notes which in some mysterious fashion would occasionally get smuggled past the vigilant mothers and duennas, then they had more than sufficient education. Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, in Mexico, a court lady of the seventeenth century, is a dazzling exception to the generality. After producing intricate and witty poetry—was she not termed the "Tenth Muse"?—and charming all who knew her by her beauty and personality, this lady took the veil.

Much of all education was, as has been hinted, in the hands of the Jesuits. While the objective of this

type was largely religious, nevertheless it did operate toward the foundation of schools in a spirit of non-sectarian service to the community. A second educational group, "religious also in its basis, through the spirit of the time, makes head when the Jesuits disappear, and takes advantage of the plundering of their properties to found the more important of its own establishments. The one is established through the direct and efficient action of the clergy, with their chief authorities at the head; the other, through the civil functionaries of the colony and the mother-country, rules in a spirit of universalized teaching service. Each in turn obtains predominance and influence through successive struggles until, with the definite reconstruction of the nation, public education gains a common center whence all subsequent movements of importance are to radiate their impulses." An adequate recognition of these opposed tendencies will greatly aid the student of the Latin-American mind.

The time-spirit abroad in the possessions of Portugal and Spain in the closing quarter of the eighteenth century was very different from that with which the first actors in their colonial history were imbued. If thought, religion, action—in a word, life—were to be emancipated, the colonials had to make good in a terrific struggle against a triple partnership: the monarch overseas; the Catholic church, whose polit-

ical and social influence was enormous; and the lessees, or captains and Crown representatives, whose only object was individual enrichment and who never concerned themselves about the intellectual life of America. No political theory would enliven colonial mentality if this partnership (speaking, of course, in general terms) could prevent it. Consequently a fearful political curse was entailed upon the republics subsequent to the revolution. Lack of ideals and of education in political economy through the colonial period engendered the later so-called anarchy. After all, though this seemed like a return to feudalism, it was merely compensation for the loss of the centralized rule the colonies had had under a king.

Oddly enough, it was one of the Spanish kings who was somewhat instrumental in the transformation of the time-spirit. Carlos III, says Navarro, was "the most intelligent, active, and patriotic of all the kings Spain has had." He reigned from 1759 to 1788, and through his influence and that of the eminent statesmen who surrounded him a spirit of liberty and progress penetrated into Spain and crossed the Atlantic to America. Unfortunately Spain, chained to her past, relapsed into the mediæval traditionalism from which she is still struggling to free herself, but Spanish America was able to shake off the peninsular shackles and shape her course toward the new ideals. Thanks to Carlos III, then, the colonies were liber-

alized, and this liberalism permitted the growth of a spirit which, at the opportune moment, was able to take advantage of the situation in Europe and wrest an empire from the inept hands of Fernando VII. Carlos III favored the three changes which were captivating men's minds everywhere, in Spain, in France, in certain classes in England, in the United States: new international policy, new economic order, new education.

To revert for a moment to the theme of university education in Latin America, our argument has brought us to the inescapable conclusion that the university classes, with a few other choice and enlightened spirits, were largely responsible for the liberal new time-spirit. Hidalgo, father of Mexican independence, was so full of the teachings of French revolutionists that they dubbed him the *afrancesado*. He graduated from Mexico University in 1770. Rivadavia and Moreno, whose work abides in Argentina, were educated men. Bolívar, greater than these, studied widely on the "grand tour" in Europe. Many of the more wealthy Creoles sent their sons to Salamanca or Paris to be educated, and the garnerings of progressive democracy brought back from Europe are to be imagined. There was traveling, too, to the United States, and all the travelers, whether to the Old World or to the land of Washington, easily assimilated the new ideas, conceiving them as

favorable to the development of their own colonies or even as justifying a bid for independence. Mexico, Peru, and New Granada (including what is modern Venezuela, Panama, Colombia, and Ecuador) had many illustrious sons who thus visited the lands where the new word of freedom was being proclaimed.

It must be borne in mind that these Latin-American travelers were not merely left to absorb casually, from their temporary environment, these strange and upsetting new ideas. More than one of them has recorded experiences when he was clearly being "cultivated" by enthusiastic propagandists of liberalism. The experience seems often to have been borne with something more than mere resignation. We learn that it was deliberately sought. Miranda, "precursor" of the Venezuelan revolution, served as a general in the armies of the French Republic. Belgrano, father of the national flag of Argentina, speaks thus: "When in 1789 I was in Spain, and the French Revolution was causing such changes in thought, particularly in the literary circles which I frequented, those notions of liberty and equality took possession of me also . . ." Jefferson tells us that when he was in Paris on a mission from the American government he was interviewed by South American students who expressed their glowing admiration for the United States as a model young republic.

Great Britain, having lost the thirteen brightest

jewels in her crown, makes it manifest at this time that she will not grieve to see Spain similarly bereft. Our space is too limited to give more than a hint of this attitude. We quote from Navarro y Lamarca: "For the mission to England [from Venezuela in 1810] were named the young, dashing Col. Simón Bolívar . . . and the celebrated savant Don Andrés Bello, who left La Guayra in the British brigantine-of-war *General Wellington,* specially sent from Barbados for the purpose. . . . The envoys were favorably received by London society and by the Prime Minister." It is interesting to reflect on the destinies that thus associated with Bolívar the greatest South American scholar of his time, Andrés Bello, but it is more suggestive to picture to ourselves the great poet, grammarian, teacher, and purist as he went daily to study in the British Museum. Latin America thrillingly awake! Again, and this time in very overt fashion, Britain manifests the keen interest she takes in the South American countries. It is the year 1806, and a British expeditionary force lands on the shores of the Plata and seizes Buenos Aires, being, however, overpowered after a few weeks. The next year another British force captures Montevideo and again threatens Buenos Aires. Again it is unsuccessful, and the British general sues for terms in order to escape annihilation.

These several forgotten incidents are here re-

lated that the postscript may now follow. While the English were in possession of Montevideo, they published there, to the interest and possibly the pleasure of the inhabitants, a gazette called "The Star of the South." The gazette was published in both English and Spanish, and there can be no doubt that its liberal doctrines, widely disseminated, did much to stimulate English commercial interests in the River Plate region. But that was the lesser part. The English ideals of fair play, of justice, of freedom, found a quite congenial soil, nor is this surprising, for such centers as Montevideo have ever been hospitable to advanced ideas. In a thousand different ways and by ten thousand different individuals the Latin-American mind was being stirred, quickened, hardened to resolve.

We have spoken of education by travel abroad. But what of the greater number of eager, receptive, impressionable Latin-American young men who did not go abroad, but had to assimilate what culture was available in the home-land? Ideas recognize no boundaries, stop at no custom-houses. Somehow, aside from the Latin and the theology or civil law, students picked up other things; for we find in Bogotá, Colombia, in 1794 groups styling themselves the *centro humanista* (humanist club) or *sociedad literaria* (literary society), or something similar, and reading, either in French or in translation, the *Dec-*

laration of the Rights of Man of the French Constituent Assembly. Antonio Nariño—honor to him—managed to publish this document, somehow or other. It went over the length and breadth of the continent, and it fired men's souls. Perhaps these particular young men had read Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations;* many were reading it in those days. It is more than probable that they, like their fellows throughout Latin America, had imbibed a goodly share of Montesquieu, of Rousseau's *Social Contract,* of Raynal, of Condorcet, with his faith in the possibility of an improvement in human nature. Such was the reading of Simón Bolívar. The influence of the French Encyclopedists, Voltaire, Dalembert, Diderot, Holbach, Grimm, and others who produced that very significant *Encyclopédie* in 1772, was very great in Latin America.

These master minds were helping to accentuate the symptoms of revolution which to the judicious had been apparent in the middle of the eighteenth century. Men of thought, without previous accord, converged toward a new method of stating problems and of judging facts. Three imposing currents of ideas are interrelated in a common effort. Locke and Condillac are guides in philosophy. Quesnay creates political economy. Montesquieu and Rousseau renovate political law. It was a period of ferment, of intellectual daring, of aspiration toward a renewed

and utopian society, and it had its devotees in Latin America as well as in France. And the main source of the movement was this group which is referred to in history as the Encyclopedists. Much were they feared in South America! There is the case of the *oidor,* or judge, in Buenos Aires, who wrote on the manuscript of a play submitted for his inspection, that its pages held much of the impiety and free-thinking of the contemporary philosophers and the spirit of "Rusó" was especially discernible. A few years pass, and no *oidor,* no viceroy, can oppose an effective barrier to the onward sweep of liberal republican ideas in Argentina. Nor were other influences, besides those distractingly suggestive French philosophers, lacking to the future leaders of Spanish America. Bentham's philosophy was even taught for a time in Colombia, after the revolution. Spanish writers, too, Jovellanos, Luzán, Moratín, the Padre Isla, helped to spread this literary infection of the rights of man and the necessity of liberty.

What a contrast these keen, studious university men of the first years of the nineteenth century must have presented to those superficially brilliant Creoles of former times, who had made acrostics and clever rhymes, who had toadied bishops and viceroys, who could converse like Góngora, but who had had no love for humanity. With these, their sons, it is not the school but the individual that triumphs. They

conspire for independence, banded together in secret societies. The literary effusions in which their new aspiration peeps out are often more than a little bombastic, yet curiously moving. They are beginning in 1800 to discern what they really want, nothing less than complete freedom. Nor could it well have been otherwise. Through the generations, self-denying, devoted teachers and investigators had been the secret of the renown enjoyed by the seats of learning. Not unworthy successors in the line of Luis de León were these: Carlos de Siguënza, the scholar in Mexico, who, though sick, rescues invaluable books from the burning town hall at imminent personal peril; the scientist Mutis, who in 1760 comes to Bogotá to make a botanical survey of Colombia; Caldas, his pupil, a Creole, surpassing his master; and, earlier than they, in 1570, Francisco Fernández, zealously collecting scientific data for his government in Spain.

The bondage of absolutism in culture as in most other things would have endured much longer if the home administration could have annihilated all the printing-presses in existence. It will repay us to consider the value of the press as an agent of culture. A wise and progressive spirit animated the first law dictated in Spain relative to books printed abroad. These were allowed to enter free of duty. Unfortunately, such progressiveness was smothered in a

fierce subsequent wave of fanaticism which combated any liberal provision, and succeeded in stamping further legislation on this and kindred topics with the narrowest of characteristics. The very same sovereigns who had promulgated the first law, Ferdinand and Isabella, within a short time dictated another of a radically different temper. In it all the formalities which should precede the printing and sale of books are prescribed and enumerated. No printer or bookseller might publish or sell any book, whatever the subject treated, without royal authority, nor might any book be imported save under the most rigorous inspection. Infractions of the law are punished by the burning of the books in the public square, the sale value being forfeit and a trade purchase price exacted by way of fine. In all that concerned the printing and sale of books, each passing year saw more emphatic and more detailed legislation of a restrictive nature. Finally this reached the point of providing the death penalty, with confiscation of property, regardless of the social position of the offender, for anyone in Spain who should own, sell, or hold any work prohibited by the Inquisition.

Study now briefly the legislation affecting the colonies. Three factors operated against intellectual progress: the rigor of civil and ecclesiastical censorship, the isolation of the colonies, and the lack of incentives to intellectual labors, as well as the lack of a

public willing or able to appreciate literature if it were provided. The first law, made effective from September, 1560, ordered the judges to prohibit the printing or sale of any book treating of colonial matters, save under special license from the Council of the Indies. Shortly before the enactment of this decree the first printery in the New World had been established in Mexico. Consider the lack of communication between the colonies, together with the restrictions on publication, and some notion may be obtained of the cultural atmosphere, or lack of it, in Latin America. It was difficult to write, and far more difficult to secure the printing of what was written. Authors were compelled to overcome a thousand difficulties, and to cap the climax had to send their manuscripts to Spain for publication at enormous expense, for the available agents were generally both incompetent and dishonest. Lack of liberty brought the logical consequence, namely, that what was published was limited to fulsome panegyrics, competitive literary essays, religious and legal works. Of course catechisms, lives of saints, rituals and manuals of devotion abounded. Books were, in a word, public enemies. It is painful to record the fact, but such was the situation through three centuries.

Latin-American culture prior to the revolution was the product, then, of the factors studied in this chapter: the Iberian heritage, with all that it implied in

traditions, legends, history, prejudices, ideals, characteristics; the intermingling of the *conquistadores* with the races of the New World, producing those *mestizos* who form so important a part of the population; the influence of an absolutist government and religion, and even an absolutist educational system, until, toward the end of the eighteenth century, liberal ideas from abroad began to gain ground. The study of cultural ideals as they developed after independence was achieved does not concern us in this chapter. Such a study would show the Latin-American peoples profoundly influenced by successive philosophical tendencies which also originated abroad: social romanticism; then positivism, which still has a large following among the educated in Brazil; and more recently the teachings of the evolutionary school, which, despite many inconsistent applications, have affected more and more the thinking of Latin America.

Marcos Schwarz
Henry Alfred Holmes

Buenos Aires
Claremont, California

II

OUR CHANGING LIFE AND THOUGHT

THE subject here discussed might well occupy an entire volume, and the difficulty of attempting to do justice to it in a single chapter will readily be appreciated. Only a bare outline of the whole range of movements can be suggested, and a brief treatment of the principal ones attempted.

Written in part by a Brazilian who does not know even by sight the sister republics of South America, since he has seen only Argentina and Uruguay in a bird's-eye view, the chapter is sure to have a sectional coloring, with the result that generalizations from it will be dangerous. As a rule, however, this danger cannot be very serious, because affinities of race, environment and education give to Brazil and her Spanish-speaking sister republics essentially the same vices and the same virtues.

In countries like ours, still in the making, popular problems are complex, for two reasons: first, because many of them, though this is a new continent, are similar to those of the Old World, where even yet complete solutions have not been found; and second, because we have evolved peculiar problems of our own that call for special handling.

Manifestly not all the movements influencing the life and thought of Latin-American peoples are equally advanced or even present over the twenty republics. Nor can it be said that all of the movements here mentioned affect the thinking of the total population of any one country. They are playing an important rôle in the life of certain groups which in their turn must sooner or later exercise an influence upon the total life of the nation. A list of the more notable movements would include the following: Anti-clericalism, or the religious phase of a general revolt against absolute authority of any sort; a marked movement toward genuine democracy and the overthrow of absolutism in politics, or what might be regarded as the political phase of the revolt against absolute authority; a distinct unrest, particularly among the student groups, which is almost equivalent to a youth movement; a strong movement on the part of labor, curiously linked up in some countries with the student movement; a widespread and vigorous feminist movement; in the international realm, the movement commonly called Pan-Latinism; in the sphere of morals, such movements as the temperance or, as it is more frequently called, the anti-alcoholic movement, and those movements directed against the social evil and the consequences of sexual vice; in the sphere of the intellectual, the increasingly general tendency to rely

upon scientific method as the means not only for securing the necessities and comforts of life through applied science, but for the discovery of truth itself. These can only be summarily touched upon in this brief chapter.

In discussing first the widespread movement of revolt against the church which we have listed as anti-clericalism, it may be well to begin by pointing out that the religious problem in Spanish-speaking Latin America appears to be somewhat different from that in Portuguese-speaking Latin America. Spanish Latin America inherited the Spanish temperament and its inflexible Catholicism. When the democratic ideas born with Calvin in Geneva and espoused by John Knox and the Puritans—inspirers of the North American democracy and the soul of the French Revolution—took possession of the cultured minds of Latin America, the conflict with the representatives of ultramontanism took on two forms. In Spanish Latin America there was created a liberal current, as aggressive as the narrow clericalism which it had to combat. The reaction took extreme forms and gave rise to a tense and threatening intellectual attitude not only against Catholicism but against Christianity itself, since both religions early became confused in the minds of hostile groups. This attitude is atheistic to the core, as witnessed, for example, among the cultured classes of Uruguay, where positive religion

is more or less the synonym of idiocy. There Catholicism no longer displays a dominating character; she is content if merely allowed to live.

Here in Brazil the milder temperament of the Portuguese, which, as James Bryce has justly observed, expressed itself perfectly in the mild form that slavery assumed among us, did not permit the conflict between church and state to assume a tragic character. Our liberal spirits always sought a compromise between Catholicism and democracy, between clericalism and liberalism, between the Syllabus and the Magna Charta. Our ex-Emperor Dom Pedro II, enlightened, cultured, honest and fundamentally liberal, although he declared himself a Catholic, always kept a close watch on clericalism. That is still the attitude of the majority of enlightened Brazilians, for whom the Catholic church is a kind of peevish little grandparent, and at the same time a darling to whom everything is conceded—up to a certain point. Beyond that it is necessary to oppose her secretly, and sometimes openly, even while seeming to caress her cheeks with kindness and tenderness.

Such an attitude of tolerant watchfulness is without doubt undesirable, but it is one which has existed not only in Brazil but in other countries of Latin America for many years. It is utopian to wish to reconcile the irreconcilable, to make democracy and

clericalism kiss each other as good friends. These two enemies have lived until now like cocks not born of a fighting breed but always essaying or pretending to fight; they scratch the ground, drag their wings, crow as a challenge, dash at each other, give a blow or two, and . . . there they go running away from each other, crowing and challenging one another to repeat the same comedy tomorrow. Some day impious hands will lay hold of them and lock them together. Then it will be necessary to decide which one rules. When the conflict finally breaks in Latin America it will undoubtedly assume in Brazil the character of mere skirmishes, such as occurred a short time ago in our Federal Congress on the occasion of the proposed change of the Brazilian constitution, a dangerous hour in which Catholicism attempted to deliver a blow directly aimed at the democratic conquest of our country. Or it will assume a most violent and extreme character, as it has done in Mexico during the last few years. Temperaments and historic experiences will largely predetermine the distinct characteristics of the combat.

Once the issue is sharply drawn between Roman ecclesiasticism and democracy, those with cultured and liberal minds will separate themselves completely from Catholicism, which now assumes a tremendous responsibility in its alliance with Fascism. Eventually Fascism must fall. It is a violent, irra-

tional, artificial attitude, designed to maintain the principle of authority; a monstrous marriage between the known unbelief of Mussolini and the medieval piety of the Vatican; a recourse of desperation, leaning on admitted intolerance. When Fascism finally falls, who will inherit the spiritual remains of Catholicism?

Great at the present hour is the responsibility of Protestantism, author of popular education and the source of democratic ideas. She might perhaps be the ark of salvation if it were not for the unhappy divisions so repugnant to the Latin mind, which is always eager for synthesis and unity.

Lamennais, disappointed with Catholicism, which he attempted to ally with democracy, hopeless, crushed by the iron hand of the Papacy, did not find in Protestantism a port of safety in which he could rest his soul in its fight for liberty. "I cannot turn to Protestantism," he said, "because it is a degenerate system." Consequently he turned to infidelity. Lamennais is a representative type of the Latin mind. For this reason, if Protestantism is to make itself felt and be of any value in Latin America it must put an end to denominational sectarian divisions and become a unity. Not to recognize this truth, to labor in any way whatever that this ideal shall not be realized, is the highest crime against an already crippled Christianity; it is evidence of a fatally defective

vision that will cause us here in Latin America to miss the way. It is to the children of Protestants much more than to the children of Catholics that it becomes urgent to teach a common creed and to emphasize the proposition, "I believe in the communion of saints."

In name the republics of Latin America are democracies. In fact they are very far from being such. If democracy means the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, then democracy is but a distant ideal for the great majority of the republics of the Western hemisphere, and very imperfectly realized in even the most advanced of them. The percentage of citizens who have the right of suffrage in Latin America is nowhere large. There are many explanations of this fact. In no Latin-American republic have women been granted the vote. Thus an important section of the population of each nation is without a voice in public affairs. In some countries, masses of illiterate citizens are barred by a literacy test from expressing their will at the polls, while other large groups are disfranchised through lack of property qualifications. Nor does the small group which has the vote succeed always in registering its will. The political organization, astutely directed, always manages to perpetuate the régime of autocracy, oligarchy or plutocracy which has laid its hands upon the reins of government. It

is said that in one great republic of South America four hundred families, out of a population of four and one-half millions, really rule it. While not always agreed among themselves, sometimes in fact divided into contending factions, these four hundred families have furnished almost the entire list of presidents and major officers of government ever since the country became a republic. Not infrequently revolution has been necessary in order to overthrow established dictators or oligarchs.

Notable examples of dictators throughout Latin America are Juan de Rosas in Argentina, Francia in Paraguay, and Melgarejo in Bolivia. In more recent times Diaz in Mexico yielded to the champions of democracy only after bitter conflict, a conflict that has gone steadily forward through changing governments and insurrections until the present moment, when we witness the administration undertaking the most pretentious political and social reforms on behalf of the people that Mexico has ever known. And the end is not yet.

In less noticeable fashion and without actual appeal to arms, quiet movements toward democracy are going forward in countries other than Mexico. Peru, while under a dictatorship at present, has its undercurrent of revolt, which is kept from breaking through only by the most autocratic measures of repression. Prominent among those who resent the

absolutist government are the youthful student leaders and the working classes. Chile is likewise in a state of unrest. Reforms long and eagerly hoped for had been promised but nothing was done. Congress spent its time in oratorical battles and nothing was accomplished. Then the army took a hand. A military dictatorship gave the Chilean Congress twenty-four hours in which to pass the desired legislation, speed was found to be quite possible, and some long-needed legislation making for a larger measure of democracy was enacted. But the situation is by no means settled. There are further demands of the people which must be reckoned with.

On looking over the whole of Latin America and noting the number of governments that are in effect if not in name dictatorships, one might be led to think that, far from growing in the direction of democracy, the tendency is rather toward autocracy. A more penetrating study of the facts is likely to result in the conviction, however paradoxical it may sound, that these dictatorships are real indices of a developing democratic ideal, which can only be held in check by a stern show of force. How long these dictatorships can delay the inevitable popular self-assertion will depend upon the relative strength of the contending groups in each country.

Many are the forces influencing this movement toward democracy. For one thing, political freedom

and self-determinism are in the air the world over. The news of what has happened and is happening today in other lands is stimulating all the peoples. Latin America is open as never before to the currents of the world's thought. Its present unrest is a part of the general world revolt against absolutism in any sphere of life, applied to government. It is being enormously magnified by the development of popular education to which Latin-American governments have of late begun to give themselves more seriously. Throughout the greater part of their history, education in Latin-American countries has been of the aristocratic type. The masses have been given but little instruction. The church has founded schools for the sons of the well-to-do and powerful. The training was classical, not very practical, and the curriculum largely controlled by the clergy. Only recently has popular education received any stress. In certain countries it seems to have been the deliberate policy of church and state to keep the humbler classes ignorant. An inevitable result of the increase of popular education will be an increased demand for greater freedom for the individual and the group. We might well have designated the movement toward popular education as one of the most important movements affecting Latin-American thought and life today. Who can estimate the far-reaching effects which the establishment of a thousand new schools for Indians

each year under the Calles régime will have in Mexico? That some mistakes will be made, excesses committed, and class struggle result as a natural reaction to the conditions of the past cannot be doubted. On the other hand a more complete and genuine democracy is in the making.

What part has the Christian evangelical church to play in this development of democracy? Christianity as it has been known in its Roman Catholic form has all too often been found on the side of autocracy. Will Protestantism become a real champion of democracy and prove that Christianity does stand for the rights and happiness of all men, regardless of class?

In the field of education Latin America asks on bended knees for apostles of the type of the French saint and teacher, Oberlin, who worked miracles in Ban de la Roche, a region similar in every way to the interior of Latin-American countries. What South America hopes for, especially from Protestant missions, are institutions of practical orientation like the one founded by Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee. If a number of such institutions were established to educate the children of Protestants in Latin America, they would introduce a practical education so much superior to the bookish education now predominating in our schools as to make these Protestant institutions an irresistible force in a social environment wholly

created and dominated hitherto by the Jesuits, and an incalculable blessing to the nations.

Our most serious educational need is primary, technical and agricultural instruction. When Europe was divided into Europe of the Renaissance and Reformation and Europe of the Counter-Reformation, a profound difference soon characterized the peoples. With Luther came widespread primary education. With Bucer, who from the social point of view was superior to Luther, passed away the mendicity that was infesting northern Europe, and organized labor was born. With Calvin, whose preaching and rigid morality demanded not only labor but economy and sobriety, there arose, without his wishing or suspecting it, modern capitalism. Eventually science gained supremacy and demanded education of a practical and experimental type, to be applied to agriculture and industries. Machinery came into being, laboratories were established, large-scale industries emerged, and the foundations of great fortunes were laid. At the same time in countries of the Counter-Reformation instruction continued to be bookish, literary, rhetorical, speculative, and not practical.

Latin America, child of southern Europe, is paying even today the high interest of this debt contracted with science and industry in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. With the kind of education we have had, we could not extract from

the rich soil of our countries all that it has to give. Without positive sciences there are no real industries, without these there are no great fortunes, and capital is not produced. We have little capital of our own; we depend for our economic development on foreign capital. This places the native Latin American in a position of subordination which is to him humiliating. Not only are the natives of the country as a rule unqualified for economic leadership because of defective education and lack of capital, but merely as the employees of foreigners they are never treated as the equals of employees who come from abroad. However active, zealous and intelligent they may be, they are never paid the salaries immigrant laborers are paid, even when they may be superior in every way, as is at times the case. The foreigner imposes and exploits as he wishes. And this state of things is strengthened by too much emphasis on the classics in education and too little emphasis on the sciences.

Another interesting and significant development in Latin America is the youth movement, related closely to the worldwide post-war youth movement of Europe and Asia, but with its own peculiarities and special objectives. In one of its phases this movement seems but another form of the general revolt against absolutism and authority which we have seen manifesting itself in a religious way as anti-clericalism, and in a political way as an effort at achieving real democ-

racy. The youth movement began in a revolt against the control of education by the church or by any other reactionary forces, a control which kept education rigidly traditional in both content and method, ill fitted to prepare students to meet the demands of a changing and perplexing present-day world. It was the boast of one of the institutions concerned in the earlier outbreaks that its curriculum had not been changed for two hundred and fifty years.

A leading spirit in the student revolution in Peru writes thus: "The restless discontent of the Latin-American students carried them far beyond the intellectual frontiers which, like rings of iron, the universities had marked out for them. New ideas agitated their young brains and a desire arose to convert these old universities into new laboratories of science and seminaries of modern culture. . . . But tradition set its face against the students' proposals. The masters of the Latin-American universities exercised a truly implacable dictatorship. For them the old was symbolic of wisdom, and they denied all attention to every suggestion of the students, whatever it was."

At the University of Cordoba in Argentina the first significant revolt broke out in July, 1918. The students made unheard-of demands, including the "repeal of old university statutes, change of professors, abolition of ecclesiastical control over higher in-

struction, professorships open to all, academic freedom . . . the right of student representatives in the directing councils of the university and their right to share in the election of professors." The opposition of university authorities to these demands brought about the use of violence by the students. The laboring men of the city threw their influence on the side of the students and victory became assured. Enheartening messages of sympathy and moral support poured in from student groups throughout Latin America. The Cordoba students replied with a ringing appeal to their fellow-students: "If in the name of order others desire to persecute us, ridicule us, use force against us, let us proclaim aloud that the sacred right of insurrection, the only door remaining open to us, is the heroic birthright of youth. Persecution only makes us stronger. The spiritual redemption of Latin American youth is the only reward we seek, because we know that the ills from which we suffer are the ills of all the continent."

The flame of revolt spread quickly. The University of Buenos Aires and the University of La Plata both experienced serious student strikes lasting a year and calling for the intervention of government police and the military forces. In the end the students won public favor, a reorganization of the universities resulted, and even the government was forced eventually to yield to their demands.

The year 1919 saw a prolonged strike in the University of San Marcos in Lima, Peru, the oldest university in America, founded in 1551. Practically the same demands were made here as were made at the University of Cordoba, including the dismissal of sixteen professors. The struggle was bitter, and had it not been for the support given the student movement by the labor group it is doubtful if the students could have prevailed. Against the combination of students and labor, however, the government was forced to yield and to vote favorable laws regulating the university. Other important student strikes occurred a little later in Havana and in Santiago de Chile. To quote now from H. de la Torre, in *The Living Age* of October 15, 1926: "In all the universities of Latin America a change of method has taken place and a new spirit has arisen because of this rebellion of youth."

During the years that have elapsed since this critical period there has been developing an increasing sense of solidarity among Latin-American youth. The younger labor leaders and university students have been drawn together in supporting common causes. Various international student gatherings have been held. In Mexico City representatives of twenty-three nations, including Germany, United States and China, met in 1921. We may quote two noteworthy declarations of this congress: "The Latin-American

students proclaim that they are struggling for the advent of a new humanity founded on the modern principles of economic and political justice."—"The students of Latin America proclaim their optimism regarding the grave problems which are agitating the world, and their absolute confidence in the possibility of attaining, by the renovation of economic and moral ideals, a new social organization which will permit the realization of the spiritual aims of man."

The interests of the youth group, at first largely centered in educational reform, have expanded to take in a much wider range. There has been a distinct growth of the spirit of internationalism, as opposed to the interests of narrow nationalism which keep the Latin-American nations suspicious and distrustful of one another. Some notable pronouncements have come from student groups looking toward better international relations. When Chile refrained from sending representatives to the recent Peruvian centennial on account of the old hostility that has existed between the two countries because of the Tacna-Arica dispute, the Chilean students sent the following greeting to the students of Peru:

"This generation, educated in the sophistry that the interest of the 'patria', just or not, is superior to moral interests, cannot understand, unfortunately, that we students place peace and justice above transitory interests. Only the warning cry of youth can

clear the atmosphere and revive the sleeping sentiments of brotherhood. The American youth, who has given so many proofs of idealism and of understanding of the real world problem, ought to fight constantly to create a spirit of peace in this beautiful section of the world. On sending, through the student organization, the expression of our fraternal adhesion to all the peoples of America and especially the young people of Peru on the occasion of its centenary, we understand that we do not reflect the sentiment of a majority of the Chilean people, but we have not vacillated in manifesting our own feelings, certain that they are just and noble and are destined finally to prevail."

Recently the youth leaders have had a good deal to say about "Yankee imperialism" and the threat which it offers of complete materialization of life and civilization in Latin America. In consequence an aggressive opposition to the economic imperialism of the United States has developed. A recent appeal from the youth of Latin America to the student and young labor groups of North America voices this protest. "Our own people are also overcome by that generation . . . that knows no other god than material goods. . . . The capitalistic oligarchy which imposes its law on your people is active and dominant here. It devours, it invades our nations, which it desires to control. . . . Our reactionaries are passive, and

allow themselves to be conquered through trafficking with the life, liberty and riches of their fatherland."

An interesting and significant indication of the idealism of the student movement may be seen in the valuable service Latin-American students have given to popular mass education. In Peru and elsewhere so-called popular universities have been organized among the working classes, the direction and instruction being voluntarily contributed by students. This has powerfully aided in cementing and enlisting youth and labor for all sorts of reform movements. In Mexico the response of student youth to the call of the government for teachers in the growing number of schools for Indians has been noteworthy, something of the spirit of the student volunteer for foreign missions having been revealed in them.

While the student groups are wholly alienated from the established Roman Catholic Church and largely from religion itself, yet there is not lacking evidence of religious interest where religion can be seen as divorced from ecclesiasticism. Humanitarian service stands for the only religion recognized by many students. The national Student Congress of Peru in 1924 felt called upon to consider religion because "The life of man cannot be reduced to the satisfaction of his material necessities. His spirit has profound longings; it asks itself serious questions

which can only be satisfied and answered in the domain of art and religion."

Labor is organizing and asserting itself in Latin America as it is everywhere else in the world, and the adjustments necessary if its demands are to be met are having a profound effect upon the people. The movement is more advanced in some Latin-American nations than in others. In general it is the skilled laborers and the industrial workers who have organized most effectively.

The peonage problem constitutes the most vexing and important concern of labor in Latin America, particularly in those countries which have a large Indian population. Simply described, the system is this. The laborer with his family is attached to the land of the *hacendado*, or landowner. Here he lives on a little plot which is his to cultivate and utilize for the support of his wife and children. In return for this he renders a certain number of days' service per week or month to the landowner, for which he receives a small additional wage. Although theoretically free to leave and take up his work elsewhere, he is frequently so deeply in debt to the landowner for advances made to him or for provisions furnished at the farm store that he cannot leave. In consequence, families sometimes remain for generation after generation upon the same farm.

The vast masses of peon labor have thus far not

asserted themselves or even given evidence of any marked group consciousness, chiefly because capable leadership among them has been lacking. Sporadic and more or less local agricultural strikes have taken place, for example, in southern Chile; but aside from effecting some meager betterment in their conditions of labor and giving a hint as to the future possibilities of effectively organized farm labor groups, little has been accomplished. Skilled and industrial labor has been too busy fighting its own battles to champion very vigorously the rights of this inert mass. The most noteworthy advances that are taking place in behalf of the peon are the result of the labor administration in Mexico, where labor has achieved a more commanding place than in any other republic. Part of the protest against the present Mexican administration is based on its attempt to secure justice for the peon both as laborer and as landowner.

Labor unionism is well intrenched in the more progressive countries of Latin America, and has secured distinct advantages to the workers through use of the strike and through legislation. Mexico easily stands at the head of Latin-American nations in the number and development of its labor organizations. Although of comparatively recent origin, the National Federation of Labor, the largest labor organization in Mexico, reports an increase in membership from 75,000 to 600,000 within the last ten years. Just now labor

is enormously powerful politically. While charges of communism and Bolshevism have been made against it, few responsible leaders have expressed any such concern. It is true that at one time there was a distinctly radical wing in the labor party. The red flag was frequently seen in the streets. The capitalistic press of the world saw in this display the grim hand of Moscow, and not a little hostility to Mexico has resulted. A "white" labor movement was organized by Catholicism to offset this so-called red influence, but it had little effect and speedily disappeared. Bolshevist influence has been felt in a few Latin-American countries, mainly Argentina, Peru, Chile in the nitrate fields particularly, and Brazil. In general, however, labor in Latin America is far from radical.

The dire prophecies of what would happen under the Calles socialistic régime have not been borne out by the facts. Distinct gains for labor and the rights of the common people have resulted, and only the church and "big business" have had any serious complaints to make, complaints which the sober study of all the facts fails to justify in any large degree.

Each Latin-American country has some sort of National Federation of Labor which binds together the various unions. These exercise what political influence they can in securing legislation favorable to the interests of their group. In addition these organizations perform a highly useful service in the social,

educational and mutual benefit work carried on among their members. Through their publications and representatives they have awakened a desire for education, and by the cooperation of students "popular universities" in the form of lectures and open forums have been formed in the labor centers, around which a great deal of the social life of the group has come to revolve. In addition they have promoted numerous social reforms, such as temperance, which are clearly to the advantage of workers. In Chile the Federation of Labor definitely declared itself to be in favor of the anti-alcohol movement, opened the columns of its press to discussion of it, distributed literature on the subject, and furnished its mailing list to organizations which were carrying on the temperance campaigns. Posters were placed in labor social centers, lectures and discussions were arranged for, and in some cases local unions deliberately refused to allow their members to load or unload cargoes of liquors in Chilean ports.

These Federations of Labor have promoted thrift by encouraging savings accounts, home buying, and life insurance. They have conducted safety campaigns, health campaigns, and city-wide clean-up campaigns. They are a powerful social force in the lives of workingmen and their families, having completely preempted the place which the prevailing organized religion may at one time have held for many.

The fact that labor centers have frequently become bitterly anti-Catholic and even anti-religious cannot but be a matter of deep regret to all Christian people, in spite of their conviction that the church has not always adequately met their needs. Much of the direct anti-religious and atheistic influence within labor groups has come originally from the outside, but it has found many ready to hear and believe because of the evident failure of religion, as religion is known to them, to function effectively in their own lives and to aid in solving the problems of their class.

The list of labor laws recently passed in Latin America is a long one, though the different countries are unevenly advanced, both in the amount of paper legislation passed and in the effective enforcement of the laws. Minimum wage, the eight-hour day, workingmen's compensation, pensions, compulsory insurance, one day's rest in seven, compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, protection for women in industry, prohibition or limitation of child labor, vacations,—on all of these matters and many others laws will be found in one or another of the Latin-American countries. Uruguay has been a pioneer in such legislation. Argentina and Brazil, Chile and Mexico, have gone furthest. Chile was the first to ratify the international labor convention adopted in the International Labor Congress held in Geneva in 1921 under the auspices of the League of Nations.

Thus the condition of labor through all Latin America is being steadily bettered, particularly that of the skilled workers and industrial employees, although there remains a vast amount to be done. Wages are nowhere high, working conditions are frequently deplorable, the standard of living is far below what it should be in most if not in all countries. Evidently labor needs the strong support of all the agencies which refuse to rest satisfied with the fearful inequalities which exist under the present unchristian economic system. And labor cannot rest until she has the support of the church, Roman Catholic and Protestant, in her admittedly just struggle for a better day.

Throughout Latin America the labor situation has been aggravated and complicated first by slavery and more recently by immigration. To a race enslaved by patriarchal customs, lulled to sleep by the narcotic of slave labor, accustomed to an easy life and stripped of ambitions, there came people purified in the crucible of poverty, accustomed to hard work in order that they might not die of hunger, and to extreme thrift in order that they might enjoy a minimum of comfort. These people came to a new world, one wide open to their covetousness, which said to them, "Work and you will be happy." The Italian, for example, in São Paulo heard the friendly voice, thrust himself feverishly into the work, prospered

and quickly grew rich. Large fortunes began to appear among these active and intelligent colonists. The doors of the old aristocracies opened to the sons of the foreigners, and mixed marriages took place.

It will be seen how stunning this shock was and how the old ruling families felt themselves pushed back by this resistless avalanche of immigrants. Industry and commerce fell into the hands of the foreigners. The old agricultural aristocracy merely retained possession of the lands and pitched their tents of resistance. Today a reconciliation is taking place. On the one hand the element of new blood has lost the greed of the early immigrant ancestors and their spirit of excessive economy; on the other the old national element, awakened and restrained, has taken on new habits and enterprise. The problem of immigration has many sides, and turns up again in many forms. Being made up of new countries, with extensive uncultivated regions and scant populations, Latin America needs as a source of its very development strong currents of immigration. But in order that there may be this gain through immigration the stream of inflowing life must have the following characteristics: it must be agricultural, industrious, healthy, of a type to mix easily by happy intermarriage with the native inhabitants.

Throughout Latin America there is a genuine feminist movement, though it is much less advanced

in some countries than in others. The world is too small for a great human reform affecting half its population to go unnoted in any civilized country. It was inevitable, therefore, that the movement in behalf of franchise for women which swept the United States and large sections of Europe should be followed by like movements in Latin America. Chile's movement may be said to have begun about 1915. The National Council of Women, the chief organization of Uruguay, dates back to 1916, though smaller groups existed before. Peru seems to have had a society known as Evolución Femenina as early as 1912, but her National Council of Women dates only from 1924. Argentina was probably the country in which the movement got under way first, and it is in Argentina that it has had its greatest success.

The earlier interests of the feminine groups were largely cultural, social and philanthropic. Gradually these groups began to occupy themselves with economic questions relating to the position of women in industry and to the health and protection of children. They became the champions of the economic rights of women in the marriage relation, where, be it said, their rights were surprisingly few. Legislation was ardently sought to correct the inequalities that had existed for centuries between men and women with regard to property and other economic rights.

In Latin America as elsewhere women have been widening the sphere of their interests. Long confined almost exclusively to the home and to such work as could be performed there, a strong social prejudice against women entering business or the professions had first to be broken down. It still exists strongly in many Latin-American countries but a change is slowly coming everywhere. The first woman to graduate from the Medical School in Uruguay finished her course in 1908. Today women are found in almost every profession. A woman represented Uruguay in the Peace Conference at Versailles, the only woman delegate from any nation in the world. The objectives of the Uruguayan National Council of Women include: aiding and sustaining international arbitration, combating the traffic in white slaves, fomenting the single standard of morality for both sexes, equal wages for equal labor, equalization of the two sexes in civil law and in education, and freedom for women in following the arts and the various professions. Argentine women as represented by the Woman's Rights Association of Buenos Aires add to this list the right of women to hold public office, the establishment of special courts for children and women, legitimization of all children, the abolition of all legal prostitution, the encouraging of a pure life for both sexes, and equal political rights.

Generally speaking, insistence on political equality

has been the least universal and popular of all the claims of the feminist movement. The percentage of illiteracy, which is much higher among women than men, reduces greatly the number of women who could be admitted to the polls were franchise privileges granted. Other demands of the women have seemed more urgent, though eventually their full political rights will be demanded and granted. The general attitude of men toward women in Latin America renders this full concession difficult to secure, although a prominent woman who interviewed the chief executives of most of the Latin-American republics has declared that all these officials considered universal franchise for women on an equality with men a coming political issue and a just one. Both houses of Congress in Brazil have passed a full suffrage bill. In Uruguay a similar bill secured a majority vote but failed of a two-thirds majority.

From the days of Bolívar there have been movements toward some sort of closer union of the nations of Latin America, including attempts at actual federation much after the pattern of the federation of the United States of America. The idea of a League of Nations to include the countries of North America and South America, somewhat as the nations of the world are joined in the present League of Nations, is a century old. The movement known as Pan-Americanism has gathered considerable

strength since the beginning of the twentieth century. The fifth congress of the Pan-American Union was held in Santiago, Chile, in 1923. This union has beautiful headquarters in Washington, D. C. and has accomplished a great deal through its publications, its representatives, and its promotion of international congresses such as the Pan-American Scientific Congress, the Pan-American Pedagogical Congress, etc.

Of late a movement of a somewhat different character has been gaining headway, a Pan-Latin movement, which has as its purpose the drawing together of the nations of Latin culture not alone in Latin America but in Europe as well. Various influences have operated to produce this movement. First, the cultural similarities between Latin countries make it a natural movement. Here is a great culture flowing from common sources which the developments of the last decade have tended to render acutely self-conscious. This culture is threatened by the so-called Nordic culture, which has, during and since the war, extended its reach enormously. As a natural defense, reactionary voices in the Latin group have been raised, calling Latin Americans back to their original cultural loyalty. The affiliations of Latin America, they declare, belong rather to the Latin groups of Europe than to the Nordic group of North America, even though the United States lies closest at hand.

Added to this, the growing material power and

wealth of the United States, its intense desire for commercial expansion, its economic imperialism, have raised a question in our minds as to the political disinterestedness of the colossus of the north in her varied dealings with Latin America. The frequent occupation of Latin American countries by American military forces has given rise to a fear on the part of Latin Americans for their very sovereignty. Recent events in Nicaragua, reinforcing the impression made by the attitude of the United States toward Mexico, have fanned into a flame the spirit of resentment and suspicion and have given a strong impetus to Pan-Latinism. The Pan-American movement with its slogan "America for Americans" has come to mean to many Latin Americans, "America for the North Americans." The preponderant influence of the United States in the Pan-American Union has produced the feeling that it is controlled by Washington and no longer has any real significance for Latin America.

The constant insistence on the part of the United States that the Monroe Doctrine is a private affair, instead of a policy shared by the more responsible governments of the Western hemisphere, has provoked particular resentment among the stronger Latin-American republics, who no longer feel themselves in need of paternal protection. Probably the most serious resentment has arisen from the new Coolidge

Caribbean doctrine, which regards the Caribbean region as in a special sense subject to the control of the United States. An unfortunate bitterness threatens to increase between the two great cultural groups in the Western hemisphere, which, unless checked, may seriously interfere with those helpful cultural exchanges which have been going on in the past and which offer such rich rewards, material and spiritual, for the future.

It would hardly be correct to say that there is a general temperance movement throughout Latin America, though there are vigorous national temperance organizations in some of the countries which are having a great influence upon the people. Not all the organizations are committed to a root-and-branch national elimination of alcohol; some are working in the direction of an effective control of the traffic, others for local option, still others for a gradual diminution of manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks, leading ultimately to complete prohibition. These organizations have sensed the necessity of beginning with the children and teaching them the evil effects of alcohol. Accordingly they have introduced special instruction in public schools, either by the use of special texts or by the inclusion of appropriate material in the textbooks already used. Chile, as a result of the activity of the National Anti-Alcoholic Society, recently secured a national law directing

that a certain percentage of the tax on liquors must be employed in providing scientific instruction on temperance in the public schools. This money made possible the printing of texts and posters and the securing of special films and stereopticon slides representing the effect of alcohol.

The evangelical churches have been leaders and inspirers in this work. Their members are distinguished frequently as *temperantes*, non-drinkers, and are sought as workmen because of superior reliability. Every church has been a center of temperance instruction and propaganda. The women of the churches have been especially active. Not only evangelical Christians but many Catholic women and men as well have given this movement wholehearted support. Women's clubs have deliberately set about to break down the almost universal habit of social drinking. Some notable gains have been secured; dry zones have been created in which no liquor can be sold, days and hours of closing have been established, higher license fees have lessened the number of drinking places. While not yet near the goal of total prohibition, there is an active temperance movement in prominent parts of Latin America.

Other social reforms are being urged and organizations are being formed to promote them. The fight, for example, against legalized prostitution, the white slave traffic, and venereal disease, is being car-

ried on in many countries. Sex education is being attempted, and as a result a more wholesome attitude toward sex matters is being created. Nevertheless any observer cannot fail to note that the efforts thus far made are meager in comparison with the task.

Passing over many less influential but still powerful movements affecting Latin-American life and thought today, let us consider last what might perhaps with reason have been discussed first, namely, the dominant intellectual movements that are abroad, for these have been largely responsible for the present restless attitude of the masses toward the church, the state, universal education, and every other great social problem.

Probably the most influential of these thought movements has been the endorsement by the leading intellectuals in Latin America of the scientific method, not as a means by which physical wants and needs are to be satisfied and life is to be made more comfortable and enjoyable, but rather as a means to the discovery of truth itself. That this has led in the direction of a mechanistic view of the world, with the consequent loss of a belief in a personal God who creates and rules his universe, is not unnatural, particularly in view of the utter failure of dogmatic authority to give a satisfactory answer to the inquiring mind regarding God and his relations to man and the universe. Furthermore, the influence of much of

the literature current in Latin America during recent years has led in this direction.

However, while scepticism and pure naturalism are dominant attitudes, it would be unfair to suppose that there are not idealistic and highly gifted groups in every country who are not satisfied with a totally mechanistic theory of the universe. As a matter of fact there are important groups, some of them speaking the language of a thoroughgoing materialism, who are nevertheless possessed of a deep spiritual yearning. One gets an occasional such note in the pronouncements of our students. The eagerness with which great numbers of men have listened recently in almost every country to a clear spiritual message couched in the language of philosophy and science and lighted with a warm personal spiritual glow, has given evidence of a genuine spiritual interest existing where it had not been suspected. Such experiences inspire religious leaders to hope that there is a way of counteracting the coldly mechanistic influences and substituting in their stead a spiritual, Christianized view both of man and the world he lives in.

Othoniel Motta

São Paulo, Brazil

III

OUR DOMINANT RELIGION

I MUST confess that the task committed to me is not easy. Most of us have our vision inevitably dimmed by many prejudices. We are accustomed to see religious questions through the glasses of controversy, and it is rather hard to get away from ourselves and our age-long quarrels and see things as they are. Surely we need for this enterprise, and in order not to commit any gross injustice in our opinions, to reëducate our religious moods. It was said by Goethe, "By ill-will and hatred a man's observation is limited to the surface of things, even though these qualities of ill-will and hatred be accompanied by a keen perception. But if the latter (keen perception) goes hand in hand with good-will and love, it is able to penetrate into the heart of man and of the world."

The Roman Catholic Church is dominant in Latin America. It came with the Spanish conquerors, and has gathered into its fold, in its own way, practically the entire population of the Latin-American countries. The ancient controversy between Catholics and

dissenters makes it difficult to pass judgment upon its work and its worth without the suspicion of bias and prejudice. But the test of four hundred years of religious dominance and influence is their fruit in terms of human weal. It is fair to say that much of the improvement in morality, in standards of living, in education and in spiritual light in Latin America has been due to the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. It has inculcated in its converts the spirit of deference and respect for authority. Man by himself is unable to discover all religious truth without the assistance of the great minds and sources of all times. The full measure of revealed Christian truth is not in any single individual but in the universal body of Christians for all the world through all the ages. This principle is true not only in things religious but also in science and in literature. The appeal of the individual to objective corporate authority, when balanced with the exercise of individual freedom, causes a humble and brotherly spirit, much in accordance with the belief in "the Holy Catholic Church and the communion of saints." The Roman Catholic Church has taught reverence for holy things, has led the people away from the barbarities of their primitive life, has taught them charity of a simple kind, and has done much to promote peaceful living between tribes who once were at enmity and war. It has implanted ideas of industry in the minds of

millions, and suffused the heterogeneous societies of indigenous Indian life with a spirit of unity.

The fundamental theory of Roman Catholicism is that of unity and continuity. Catholics cannot conceive life by halves which are disconnected and independent one from another—the religious and the political, the spiritual and the material, the church and the state. They want to see life as a whole and live in harmony with it. They love to see the element of synthesis in all things. Even their zeal for the practice of the eucharist, in spite of all abuses among themselves and from enemies outside, is an endeavor to express, by means of this higher form of worship ordered by our beloved Savior, the great truth that life is not in two different realms, the spiritual and the material opposing one another, but a kingdom in which the lower and visible parts—which are not to be despised, forasmuch as they proceed from the same Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth—are to be consecrated and subordinated to a higher principle that we call spiritual, so perfectly represented in the Incarnation.

Similarly Catholics do not conceive of a normal religion outside of the church. Nor do they conceive of a church without unity, a unity that must be expressed not only in a universal religious organization but in a national ecclesiastical institution. They cannot conceive of a universal spiritual brotherhood apart

from an external organization embodying it and giving it authoritative direction. In their philosophy truth is not discovered by the universal fermentation of free intelligence, such as is contended for by science and in a democratic society. On the contrary, it must be revealed through the mandates of an organized hierarchy made infallible by the divine will.

This autocratic form of organization, based upon the necessity of an unquestioned authority in the determination of truth and right, leads even their most liberal thinkers to declare that truth is of more value than freedom, and that as the Catholic church possesses the truth it has the right to suppress freedom wherever it has the power. This commitment to authority has led Catholics in all Latin-American countries to demand that they be constituted the established church, given the authority of civil law, permitted to exercise judicial functions, be the only religious establishment permitted, and be allowed to prosecute all dissenters even to the extent of burning their literature, depriving them of the right of holding property or preaching in public, and in many instances subjecting them to the inquisition and the *auto de fé*.

President Calles of Mexico says: "The Catholic clergy in our country has been an intolerant clergy. They have thought that all ought to conform to their

dogmas and that no other religion should be allowed. Since the revolution the pulpits have often been the centers of seditious propaganda. For that reason we have forbidden the priests to use their pulpits for anything else than religious discussion. Public acts of worship outside the churches have been forbidden because they have been used to incite difficulties for the government." He added: "You must understand that in Latin-American countries when the clergy is not in power it is always against the government." Adelberto Tejeda, until recently Minister of the Interior, said: "The Mexican government is not interfering with the liberty of religion in any way, but the Catholic church here in Mexico has never accepted the principle of liberty in religion. Their idea has been to control the government through a special church to the exclusion of all other churches. They would exterminate the liberty of any other faith and establish the Roman Catholic religion alone. The government is trying to give protection for the exercise of whatever religious creed the people want. It is entirely impartial in religious matters. The new laws and the penal code grant the liberty of religious worship, but the Catholic hierarchy does not want such liberty granted."

An impartial history of the relation of the Catholic church to the political movement toward democracy in Latin America will substantiate this statement,

and Mexico is at present the battleground in this war. The bishop of Huejutla, in a pastoral letter issued in the spring of 1926, set forth the contention of the hierarchy in relation to the conflict between church and state. He laid it down as fundamental that there are two sovereignties, one the state and the other the church, and then categorically affirmed that "temporal society must be and by right is subject to the church in everything which affects both societies." Upon the basis of this contention the archbishop of Mexico said in February, 1926, "The bishops, clergy, and Catholics do not recognize and will combat Articles 3, 5, 27 and 130 of the constitution now in force." In their written reply of August, 1926, the hierarchy, in answer to questions proposed by a group of inquirers from the United States, explicitly stated it as their conviction that the church was of divine origin and could not be made subject to civil law in any matter that concerned its ministers, its properties or its function as a church; that its priests could not be legally classified as professional; that its judicial function could not be denied; and that it was, by right of its divine origin, an *imperium in imperio*, a state within the state. Father Cuevas, a canonical authority and historian of the Mexican church, contended that the church is of divine origin and the state of human origin; that the laws of the church come from God and those of the state are made by

men; that the state therefore has no right to interfere with the ecclesiastical establishment in so far as the purpose of its priests and its property possessions are concerned; that it should have judicial function for its own personnel; and that in questions of conflict between civil and ecclesiastical law the laws of the church, being of divine origin, must have prior right.

The result of this basic contention has been, inevitably, for the church to oppose those forms of political progress which tend toward putting all authority in the hands of the people and making churches, along with other institutions of economic, social or religious variety, subordinate to the civil law. This is not to say that all Catholics in Mexico have shared this opposition. In fact, many of the leaders for reform have been faithful members of the Catholic church, and practically all of them in Latin America were educated in her formulas and the majority of them in her schools of higher learning. One of the leaders of liberalism in Nicaragua, who is himself a faithful and convinced adherent of the Catholic religion, believing sincerely in its sacramentarian mysticism and in the devotions of the mass, says the greatest need for Latin America is a reformed church; that if its political pretensions and demand for temporal sovereignty could be removed and it could be compelled to restrict its energies to spiritual and moral functions, the Catholic church

would regain its lost advantage and be a blessing to all Latin America in the future. Another great Catholic layman says, "When our people in Mexico accept the principles of action to which they give compliance in the United States, the trouble will be over and the church will prosper."

The dominant intellectual tendency in modern civilization is that which makes for the education of the masses of the people. The tendency of clericalism is to care only for an élite that is more akin to them and to despise the others. I do not affirm that they give nothing to the common people; they give alms to the poor, as they can, and care for the sick and orphans—this must needs be said in their honor. They also establish some good schools and colleges, at their expense and under their control. But the work of furthering the general instruction and disseminating the enlightenment of common folks has not been very congenial to them. It seems that they, being too jealous of their own authority, are afraid of such general instruction as would imperil their control. And from this has resulted the awful percentage of illiteracy in all Latin-American countries.

Some years ago, in a trip through the far interior of the state of Bahia and northern parts of Minas by the Jequitinhonha River, I was in a little village named S. Joâo da Vigia at the time when some Spanish friars were preaching. About three thousand peo-

ple from all over the district had been gathered there together, poor people, for the most part, ignorant and deprived of the commonest comforts of life. The government of Minas, headed by one of the most distinguished statesmen of Brazil, the late Dr. João Pinheiro, was at that time encouraging public instruction with all the energy and resources at its command. New schools were being founded and the old ones remodeled, even in the remotest parts of the state. And what were these friars preaching? They were decrying the public schools as irreligious, and advising parents not to send their children to them. "It would be better for the children," they said, "to grow up ignorant, but with their rosaries, than to attend the public schools."

One of the great Latin-American political leaders says: "The clergy in these countries have not desired to educate the people. They have desired to keep them faithful, and unfortunately they have believed that they could keep them faithful more successfully if they kept them illiterate." An educational leader in Mexico, who was born a Catholic, says: "The entire matter of education was turned over to the church. Though there were five or six colleges in Mexico City, the first being as early as 1553, the work was limited. As educator the church had all the money it wanted, real estate and endowment. Some authorities say that the church owned about fifty per cent of all

the real estate. Without doubt it did possess from thirty-five to forty per cent. In spite of the enormous wealth of the church and its vast resources, three hundred years of the colonial régime left, at the time of the Juárez revolution, not more than one-half of one per cent of the common people with the ability to read and write, even though the natives are always eager and able to learn. Out of six million *mestizos* and Indians, only thirty thousand were literate. They had the religious instruction of the church but they had not been taught even the fundamental moralities of Christianity. The majority of the people were just as pagan as when the Spaniards came three hundred years before."

A very intelligent woman leader, born and bred a Catholic but now a member of no church, who is spending her life in educational and social work, put it thus: "The church has lost its opportunity to improve the situation among the masses. Since independence came these masses have new ideas, but they need leaders not dictators. They have as yet very little organization and not many leaders. They are essentially religious and their religious need is great, but they have been taught the catechism and not educated. So I believe it is good for them when they cast off the Catholic faith and leave the church it has given them." Another woman leader, who is putting her entire life into social work among the peons,

says: "There are eight million illiterate Indians and *mestizos*, and their condition must be changed in order to change the country. They have been taught to believe in the saints. The priests have had almost entire control over them. They have done whatever the priests told them to do. They have gone on long pilgrimages, sometimes fifty miles, and spent the money on candles and images that should have been spent for bread and shoes. With their entire life tied into the church, it has provided for them neither education nor social life. The women have not been taught how to take care of their babies, with the result that eight out of every ten of them die. They have not been taught how to build better houses, and religion to them has not meant temperance and sobriety." A Central American labor leader put it thus: "The priests have taught the people two precepts, but not from the gospel, though from the New Testament. They are, 'Wives, obey your husbands,' and 'Servants, obey your masters.' Always they have been the chaplains of the feudal régime." He further said that in Central America every church had a school, just as in Mexico before the revolution, but that in these schools the humble folk were taught verbally the catechism and ceremonies of the church, but not how to read and write.

The governor of a state said that his every effort to promote the intelligence and resourcefulness of

the people was met by the opposition of the parish priests. He tried to vaccinate the people against smallpox, which was a great scourge in that tropical country, and was opposed by the priests, who told them to pray to the proper saint instead. A government group devoted to increasing educational opportunities through extension work in the country districts, relates how in a remote place the village priest led his people to an attempt to waylay them as emissaries of atheism, and to destroy their work even at the cost of taking their lives. There are many parish priests who believe in modern educational enterprises, and who would gladly give devotion to social progress second only to that they give the church, but under Catholic polity the autocratic head of the church under whom they must labor and from whom they must take orders has been able, when he chose, to inhibit practical efforts at reform in education and movements in social progress that would challenge the medieval contentions of a Latin-American hierarchy. We must conclude that in the modern tendency toward popular education, the major influence of the Catholic leadership in Latin-American countries has been against public schools or any other type of education than that given by the church herself.

A third tendency in modern civilization is the promotion of individual rights and prerogatives, of the

freedom of speech and assembly, and of the sacredness of personality. The Catholic theory of life as a thing whole and interrelated, first in a local communion and last in a universal fellowship, with God as Father and all men brothers, is an integral part of the Christian teaching. But the medieval notion that all life in its intellectual, political and social aspects can be organized into unity and harmony through a theocracy with human representatives, has resulted only in an authoritarianism that made the organization itself the divine and holy thing, whose authority and institutional continuity must be protected even at the cost of personal liberty. The Protestant idea is that this universal brotherhood and communion of saints must be wrought out on a voluntary basis; that it must be an internal and spiritual thing rather than an external, authoritative thing; that it is a matter of the spirit and not of the law and the institution. Protestantism could well imbibe, perhaps, some of the Catholic spirit of deference for authority, but for the authority of wisdom, experience and saintliness rather than that of an infallible hierarchy or institution.

In Latin America the attempt to found free associations has invariably met with a demand from the Catholic hierarchy that a condition to their cooperation or benediction must be that the constitution and methods of the assembly shall be put into

harmony with the demands of both the Catholic creed and the Catholic ecclesiastical authority. They ask for obedience; they are unwilling to grant the democratic right of social experimentation. A few years ago in Rio de Janeiro a number of women from the most prominent families in the city were engaged in organizing a Brazilian Woman's Legion. They asked the cardinal for a representative in the meeting in which the association was to be constituted. He sent two eminent priests and they were welcomed by the assembly in the hope that a word of cheer and sympathy for their undertaking would be given. But to their surprise these representatives demanded of the women, as an essential condition for the moral support of the church, the submission of the members of the society to ecclesiastical rules, especially that of confession to the priest. Voices of protest were heard from every part of the hall, and the meeting was thrown into confusion and adjourned, to be called some days later and carried on without any help or cooperation from the church.

In all Latin-American countries Masonic lodges have been organized by those who protested this authoritative demand of the hierarchy for control of freedom of association, and into them have been gathered most of the leaders who dominate the political and social affairs of those nations today, and many of the youth who will lead tomorrow. Labor

organizations are universally conducted without the cooperation and often with the opposition of the clerics. Where they have reached any strength an effort has been made to organize so-called Christian labor unions, modelled after those in Catholic countries of Europe, where such organizations are made subordinate to ecclesiastical control. The Mexican Federation of Labor, as a national organization, stands squarely behind the government in its opposition to hierarchical demands. These unions arrange for popular discussion between representatives of the civil and ecclesiastical parties. In all debates they have challenged the defenders of the hierarchy to the witness of history with the question, "What has the church done in this country to educate and uplift the people?"—a question never answered. One of the labor leaders has said that under the old régime of landlord and peon, in all cases where there was discontent or turbulence the parish priest became the persuasive voice of the landlord, and lent the sanction of reverence and loyalty to the church to his régime. As a result the tendency of enlightened organized labor of the South American countries is one of protest against and dissent from the church.

Indeed the net result of this effort of the church to invoke authority against the modern tendency towards the freedom of association and the right of the individual to determine his own destiny, is the organ-

ization of many associations among working people, young men, and intellectuals in open opposition to the dominant church.

Perhaps the greatest need of Latin-American countries at the present time is reform in the Roman Catholic Church. The republican leaders in the South American countries are not opposed to religion. One of them says: "Religion is the bulwark of morality, and without morality no state can endure. We simply demand the right of every man to worship God according to his own conscience, and that is a thing the clerics in this country have never been willing to grant." However, there are many of the clerics who are willing to admit it, and who would like to see their church reformed on the lines of Catholicism in England and the United States. At the close of their studies in the summer of 1926 one of the groups from the United States unanimously adopted the following resolution: "We believe that when the churches in Mexico accept, as they have done in the United States, the fundamental democratic principle that every individual, irrespective of his religion, owes civic loyalty to the state rather than the church, the religious question will be settled in Mexico and the church will prosper the more for it." A South American scholar who has been making a tour of the capitals of Latin America makes his thesis the contention that religious expression in the Latin-American coun-

tries cannot be modeled after that of the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic peoples; that it must spring spontaneously out of the temperament of each nation. With much wisdom Catholic leaders in these countries have, in their ceremonials and forms of worship, wrought into the fabric of religious exercise things indigenous to the masses of the people. If they would now incorporate the ideas, the forms, and the programs of democracy and of modern social progress into the exercise of the religious and spiritual life, they might make the Roman Catholic religion the soul of the new social order in Latin America.

Before concluding this paper I must say some things often forgotten or not reflected upon at all, on the relation of evangelicalism to Roman Catholicism. Since Latin America is by tradition Roman Catholic, the evangelical missions working here ought before all else to understand the soul of the Roman Catholic Church, her ideals, her bright side and her strong points, as well as her weaknesses. The great need of the world is mutual appreciation and reciprocal understanding among men, in the fear of the Lord. Individuals, as well as religious organizations and nations, ought to think of themselves as completing one another. No one is sufficient unto himself. The sectarian spirit has done great mischief to the noble cause of Christian work among the Latin peoples. Protestant missions, in order to be successful

in these countries, should be prepared to work in the spirit of appreciation and charity, overcoming all misunderstanding and even malice with the spirit of love and cooperation, so far as this is possible. There are two ways by which Christian work can be carried on among people who already possess the fundamentals of the Christian faith, having been baptized in the name of the Most Holy Trinity. One way is by conquering them, and the other is by helping and winning them in the brotherly spirit of cooperation.

Many of the Protestant missions in Brazil, whatever they may be elsewhere, were founded on the assumption that the Church of Rome is no church at all; therefore all the services of that church, its sacraments, even the holy baptism as conferred by its ministers, are taught to be void of value, and the people, in order to be received into evangelical communities, are required to be rebaptized. This in my judgment is an uncharitable and misleading practice, though the success obtained by it may seem to justify the evangelical workers in its continuance. However, must we not be guided by reason and the Christian spirit more than by outward success? We are already beginning to reap an unwelcome harvest as a result of this attitude.

I am not so childish as to suppose that if we work in the spirit of respectful and thoughtful cooperation, so far as it is in us, we shall win the good-will of the

dominant religious system; it will not be so. Opposition, malice, hatred, persecution, even violence, will ever occur, mainly from those quarters where the dominant religious system is most decadent and where the people are kept in greatest ignorance, superstition, and bigotry. Meanwhile, however, if we express the Christian spirit of tolerance and cooperation, our work shall grow in strength and favor and we shall not fear the day that is coming—thanks be to God—when that dominant religious system of Latin America, purified and exalted by a reform from within of which we ourselves, the evangelicals, have been providentially though imperceptibly the awakeners, shall regain the confidence and influence now lost.

We have been too ready, especially in Brazil, to take an extreme position towards Roman Catholicism, a position tenable enough on the basis of the extreme neglect by the dominant church of the people we are desirous to serve, but untenable in the face of other facts and enlightened Christian feeling. The general attitude of Protestantism in this country which regards the Roman Catholic Church as not a Christian church at all is neither charitable nor justified. Furthermore, I regard it as decidedly harmful to the progress and stability of our Christian work. The position here described has been adopted officially by the larger evangelical bodies that recognize infant baptism. We cannot hope to satisfy the Roman

Church and its demands, but we can hope to comply with the claims of reason and of Christian judgment. We should remember that we are not anti-Catholic. Our first obligation is no other than to minister to the spiritual and practical necessities of the people living around us. If we can help them in any way, this is our opportunity and privilege. The best way is not by attacking and despoiling the Roman Church, refusing to recognize it as a church with churchly foundations. We may point out its weakness, and its inadequacies to meet the spiritual and social needs of the people, but always and at the same time never forgetting our own frailties and shortcomings. Let us be humble and fraternal if we desire to be invested with grace from above. There is something above and more inclusive than Romanism and Protestantism, namely the holy catholic church; something above and more inclusive than even that church, namely the Kingdom of God; and something even above the Kingdom, namely the eternal King. In him, more than in all else, we all may find true unity and brotherhood.

Our attitude towards the Roman Church—whatever may be that of hers to us—must be one of appreciation of her good tendencies and her noble ideals of Christian unity; of respect and gratitude for her many services to mankind in times past, and

even today; and, finally, of prayerful sympathy for her shortcomings in countries and regions where for ages she has been ruling uncontrolled by representative elements of Christian freedom.

And if we have to gather together the strayed souls in the Christian fold, as is our duty, to train them in spiritual nurture, let us do it with all long-suffering, with all wisdom and tenderness, being careful also to preserve as sacred and inviolable the principle of the essential unity of the holy catholic church of our Lord and Redeemer. We are ever to remember that we are dissidents, not schismatics. "There is one body, and one spirit, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all."

It seems to me fitting to quote the wise words of a celebrated scholar and thinker in Scotland, the late Rev. John Duncan, LL.D., known in his day as the Rabbi Duncan. "We Protestants," said he, "are all dissenters. It is necessary to vindicate our dissent, but as necessary for those in the established churches to remember that they are dissenters from the Church of Rome; dissenters but not schismatics. Rome was schismatic in forcing us out. And it would be well for Christianity if all the members of Christ's catholic church would endeavor to preserve the unity of the

spirit, and think more often of the many and major points in which they agree than of the few and minor ones in which they differ."

SALOMAO FERRAZ

Sâo Paulo, Brazil

IV

THE PROTESTANT MOVEMENT

AT the very beginning of this chapter it must be stated that the treatment of this subject as related to Latin America is perhaps more difficult than it would be in the case of any other so-called mission field. In the first place, as the subject itself indicates, we do not here deal with the question of introducing Christianity to a people for the first time, inasmuch as the Roman Church has been established in Latin America for about four hundred years. Rather, this chapter must be the story of the introduction and the work of the evangelical churches in a field already occupied by the older and stronger church, a church which, for reasons into which we cannot enter fully at this time, has failed to hold the young and ambitious peoples of Latin America for vital Christianity.

The great extension of territory included in Latin America also makes difficult any exact study of Christian work within its bounds. In the term Latin America there are included twenty republics whose peoples speak three different languages and whose territory stretches from the southern boundary of the

United States to the outposts of Cape Horn. One of these republics is larger than the whole United States, and there are others whose size exceeds the combined area of many of the European states. Each one of the twenty is autonomous and is proud of its independence and of its past.

The population of these twenty republics also presents difficulties, inasmuch as it is an amalgam of many races, and there are still many millions of descendants of the pure Indians who were the original inhabitants, and also millions of descendants of slaves brought from Africa during the Spanish or Portuguese occupation, in addition to the representatives of other peoples who are generally of Aryan descent.

Evangelical work in these countries is comparatively new. We cannot look back to a century of organized effort, as is possible in some other so-called mission fields. The first Protestant missionaries to reach South America were the Huguenots who landed in Brazil in 1555. These were followed by Dutch immigrants in 1624. The Lutherans from Austria began to preach in Dutch Guiana in 1665. In 1753 the Moravians entered British Guiana and in 1775 extended their work into Dutch Guiana. But all these attempts were political as well as religious, and in general made no permanent impress on the life of the countries entered. It was in 1818 that James Thomson, representing the British and Foreign Bible

Society, made an inclusive trip through South America, and in 1827 the first work to be opened in Argentina was begun by the Northern Presbyterian Church of the United States of America. The Methodist Episcopal Board began its work in Argentina in 1836, in Uruguay in 1839, and in Chile and Peru in 1877. Other boards soon followed, and there is now no republic in Latin America in which evangelical work has not become firmly established. Nevertheless the beginnings were weak and widely scattered, and it is only within the present century that satisfying advances have been made.

It must be remembered that the Spanish-American republics freed themselves from the yoke of Spain early in the nineteenth century. Someone has pointed out that in studying the diverse revolutionary movements in Latin America one discovers that the countries which broke most fully with the power of the Roman Church, as well as with the Spanish monarchy, are those which have since most readily accepted evangelical Christianity, and this in spite of the fact that all these republics, including Brazil, retained a vital connection with the Roman Catholic Church, a connection which, in most cases, precluded the introduction of any other religion.

There can be little doubt that this subserviency to the dominant church has greatly influenced the religious and intellectual outlook of the people, and

is largely responsible for the wide chasm which separates the Latin-American mentality from the Anglo-Saxon. Race, religion, climate, economic conditions, do not fully account for this chasm. The difference between the two races is due rather to dissimilar ideals, aspirations, purposes and viewpoints, in a word, to a divergent outlook on life in all its manifestations. And it is for this reason that the Latin American who is not conversant with Anglo-Saxon ideals and customs will never be able to understand his neighbors of the north nor comprehend their peculiarities. Nor will the people of the north, for the same reason, thoroughly appreciate our manner of thought and life, unless they come to understand our cultural heritage better and the environments in which we live. It may be said that the people of the United States and Canada, and the peoples of Latin America, live in two different worlds.

Very naturally this is not the place to analyze or discuss which of the cultural streams is to be preferred. Perhaps each has an equal contribution. We must accept the facts as they are and consider the theme which this chapter title suggests in the light of conditions that exist. If required to explain the difference between the two Americas in one word, we would have to say religion; or, rather, the religious concept, and the place which religion occupies in life and thought.

The reader may believe that we have given a great deal of our brief space to this introduction, but it seemed necessary in order that it may be intelligently understood why evangelical work has not progressed more rapidly in Latin-American countries. There is no doubt that sometimes the heart of the missionary is inclined to discouragement when he reads and hears of the triumphs obtained in other mission fields, or when the evangelical work in these countries has been openly attacked by those who claim to be Christians. But evangelical work in Latin America must necessarily meet serious opposition, for two reasons.

In the first place, many Latin Americans sincerely believe that the religion which they already have is the only true religion. We evangelicals should admit that at some points we are entirely in accord with the doctrines held by the Roman Catholic Church. But we also must affirm in the most emphatic manner that, as we understand the Holy Scriptures, which are the rule of faith and practice for the evangelical Christian, the Roman Church in Latin America has departed from true Christianity in both belief and practice, and has invented and imposed upon its communicants traditional and superstitious rites and doctrines which are completely foreign to the mind and spirit of Christ.

The second difficulty which these evangelical

churches experience in Latin-American lands issues out of the fact that a large part of the population, convinced that it has often been skillfully deceived and exploited, is now throwing itself into the arms of materialism and infidelity. Since childhood our people have been carefully taught that the Roman Catholic Church teaches the only true religion and that outside of it there is no salvation. It is only natural, therefore, that when intelligent and sincere individuals recognize the error of this teaching they should summarily reject and abandon all forms of religion, fearing that what the evangelicals present as truth may also be merely a pious fraud.

It may be said with no exaggeration that in all Latin-American countries the introduction and carrying forward of Protestant evangelical work have been accomplished in the face of the most active opposition on the part of the Catholic clergy. Some of them have employed shameful methods of combating the work, as, for example, the defaming of the character of the workers. They have even resorted to arms and the burning brand in their efforts to destroy the evangelical missions. We honor and venerate the missionaries who have given their lives to carry the revelation of Christ to the continents of Asia and Africa; it should be said that those who have introduced the gospel into our Latin-American countries

have equally deserved the affection and respect of every heart, and of all those who love humanity.

Time and space will not permit even a short list of the pioneers of the evangelical missionary work in Latin America. Many of these pioneers will be familiar to our readers, especially such a one as F. G. Penzotti, known from the Mexican frontier to Tierra del Fuego, who spent dreary months in prison in Peru for the offence of trying to place the Bible in the hands of an ignorant and illiterate people whom the Roman clergy had left in their original abject condition. Other men, such as William Butler in Mexico, David Trumbull in Chile, John F. Thompson in Argentina, Pratt in Colombia, and Simonton and Blackford in Brazil, were but the forerunners of a greater company now at work. Each was persecuted and made to suffer by those who represented the dominant church. And it is from the humble foundations laid by these men that the evangelical movement has grown to its present proportions.

Although evangelical work in Latin America is still only in its beginnings, one can discern here and there substantial evidences of its influence and multiplying powers. Protestantism has always been the powerful ally of popular education, and the irrefutable truth of this statement may be found in the splendid universities and other institutions for public

instruction which abound in countries where the Bible is read and its precepts are followed. Latin America, on being entered by the evangelical missionaries, could not escape the beneficent influences of the school, and on more than one occasion the establishment of Protestant work in a village or city has been made possible by the founding of elementary and secondary schools. These have been opened for both sexes, and in many cases have served as models for and given stimulus to the government schools, owing to their better equipment and methods of instruction. There is today no single republic in all Latin America in which the evangelical school has not become an influence and power.

Mackenzie College in the city of Sâo Paulo is one of the most worthy representatives of evangelical educational effort. Here are gathered together more than thirteen hundred students of both sexes. The institution has exercised a tremendous influence on the life of the Brazilian nation for more than fifty years. That Mackenzie College is acknowledged to be a success in its methods of instruction may be gathered from the fact that the National Congress in 1923 passed a special law granting it the right to issue diplomas to its school of engineering, thus making the degrees of the institution of equal value with those awarded by the National Faculty of Engineering. As regards the influence of the college on the

Christian thought of the country we may quote a paragraph from a letter recently published in one of the New York City papers:

"A great change has come over us here in São Paulo. We firmly believed that scientific thought and religious thought were incompatible or equally hostile. We have, however, now found that religious thought is perfectly compatible with the most efficient scientific thought. You people at Mackenzie do not parade your religion, but you have it and make it felt on any suitable occasion, and you are giving the best scientific training that is being offered in Brazil today. For myself and many of my friends, I can say that we are convinced that the incompatibility of scientific thought with religious thought is with a certain type only, and not necessarily with Christianity. You can safely say to any intelligent audience in São Paulo today that God the Creator is the governor from whom, by whom, and to whom all things pertain, without exciting a sneer on the part of the thoughtful man."

In Chile, Santiago College for women is another institution which honors the evangelical cause, while at the same time it complies freely with the latest demands for modern education. As a proof of its influence in the building of character, let me quote one of its graduates, now a resident of New York. After a lengthy search for a school in which to place

her daughter, she declared that in all that great city and its environs she could not find any institution which, to her mind, assured both character growth and education in the same degree that these had been assured to herself by Santiago College.

Crandon Institute in Montevideo, Uruguay, is another well-known institution which is doing much for the education of women in the countries which border on the River Plate. In Buenos Aires we also have the American College for young men, which is just now entering upon a period of great usefulness, due to the purchase of a splendid site on the outskirts of the city to which its activities will be removed in the near future. This institution is offering students the full educational program provided by the Argentine government, and its instruction is in every respect as good as that offered by any of the government schools. Like all other North American schools in South America, it also stands as a representative of the best thought of North America, and is the medium through which the good-will of the United States for Latin America may be expressed. One of the best known of our American diplomats, after a visit to the institution, wrote the director:

"I am glad to be able to tell you, after visiting your college on several occasions, and after seeing the type of work which you are doing not only with American boys in the Argentine but with the young

men of this country as well . . . your splendid staff of Argentine teachers, and the prominent Argentine families represented in your student body, that as a medium of good-will between the United States and Argentina I know of no similar organization or institution in the republic which is more promising in its future than the college which you so worthily represent."

In Buenos Aires we have the Argentine Philanthropical Schools and Institutes, generally known as the Morris Schools, in which over 100,000 children in the past twenty-five years have received Christian education, and in which today more than six thousand are being trained for future usefulness. All these children have been taken from the streets and from homes of extreme destitution.

A great deal could be written on what evangelical Christianity has done throughout Latin America in the diffusion of Christian literature and the circulation of the Bible. The work is being enriched with every year. Publication of works which have been translated from the English or other European tongues, and in later years of original productions, has added immeasurably to the total of Protestant Christian literature. No one can measure the influence of the printed page. We know what has been accomplished by Christian literature in other mission fields, and Latin America is not without remarkable

examples of the same kind. It is said that the whole movement for the liberalization of Ecuador under General Alfaro began through his reading of the Bible as a young army officer, this Bible having been given him by a missionary whom he met on one of the steamers along the coast. We have also been told how a sheet of evangelical literature wrapped around a loaf of bread in Brazil was the means of converting a man who eventually gave himself to Christian work as a minister, and whose five sons are now engaged in Christian service. Very little has been done to reach the thousands of students in the different universities, and it is here that the evangelical writer of the future ought to find a wide field for his activities. The great majority of these students profess materialistic or rationalistic tendencies, and their knowledge of the Bible and Christianity is in general limited to that which they derive from the works of Voltaire and Renan. In regard to the distribution of the Bible, it may be said that practically all that has been done is due to the Protestant Bible Societies and to the various groups through which they work. Among the Roman Catholics the Bible is often a prohibited book, and to the sceptical and indifferent it has no authority.

Many of the most influential leaders in our large cities do all they can to make us believe that alcoholism is not a problem in these countries. They

ridicule those who arise in the defence of temperance. Through the help of the evangelical forces, however, it has been possible to organize a campaign against the excessive use of alcoholic drinks. The fact that such a campaign has stirred up many to oppose it is proof of its value to society in general. Those who find themselves inconvenienced by the preaching of such doctrines may be compared to the people of Ephesus who rose up against the Apostle Paul, claiming that his preaching had endangered their business of manufacturing and selling idols.

Social work, except that done by the Salvation Army, is at its beginning in Latin America. If we take all the Latin-American countries together and consider them as one, we may state without fear of contradiction that the laborer in all this vast region lives under deplorable economic and social conditions. He has been exploited to the limit of endurance, and everything possible has been done to keep him in a state of complete ignorance and submission. Very little if anything has been done to better his physical, moral, and spiritual condition. In some industrial centers he has been given alcohol to make him tractable and keep him in a condition of stupor for more complete exploitation.

In the work of social hygiene and in the number of Protestant church hospitals, dispensaries, and asylums, Mexico leads all other Latin-American

countries. The evangelical workers in Brazil and Chile are also making great strides in social service activity, a number of dispensaries, clinics and small hospitals having been opened during recent years. In Chile there is a demonstration farm where lessons are given to a considerable number of boys and young men in practical agriculture. Near Lima, Peru, there is an evangelical mission hospital which is the pride of the country round about. Its director has become so well known that he has been named the private physician to the President of the Republic. In Argentina funds are now being collected for the purpose of establishing an evangelical hospital in that country. In Rio de Janeiro one of the best hospitals in the city is known as the Evangelical Hospital. Steps also are being taken to train Christian nurses, since, as is well known, the profession of nursing has never been cultivated in Latin America, the care of the sick being generally left in the hands of the Sisters of Mercy.

When we consider the spiritual work of the evangelical church in Latin America—namely, that of making Christ known, winning disciples to him from every walk of life, organizing these believers into groups for corporate worship and united service, and extending Christian beliefs and ethical standards to community life—we touch upon the very heart and central objective of the missionary movement. Let it be said in praise of evangelical churches in

Latin America that they have fought a good fight, but in no sense and at no point have they finished their course. Rather they have just begun. There is still much territory to be entered, and those who have not heard of the real Christ in Latin America may still be counted by millions. As fanaticism, intolerance, superstition and systematic opposition gradually disappear, the prospect of Christianizing the life and thought of Latin America becomes more sure; first through reform within the established Roman Catholic Church, and second through the faithful testimony and steady growth of evangelical communities.

In the matter of material equipment, with few outstanding exceptions, the evangelical churches of Latin America do not have proper buildings or environment in which to carry on their work. In most places the work of preaching and teaching must be carried forward in buildings which resemble sheds more than churches. This constitutes a great handicap, especially in reaching certain classes of Latin-American society. Without indulging in extravagance in ecclesiastical architecture, we must find some ways and means to provide our evangelical congregations with more dignified places for worship and the preaching of the word. Beauty, stateliness, and harmony of line in church edifices are pleasing to the Latin American, and it is not possible to do a permanent and effective religious work among Latin peoples

if we insist in providing, as we have done up to the present, inadequate and in many cases distressingly unattractive places for corporate worship.

One of the greatest contributions which the evangelical movement has made in Latin-American countries has come through its efforts to secure freedom for the individual—liberty of conscience, liberty of speech, and liberty of public meeting. In many places, as in the republics of Argentina, Chile, Peru and other countries, the evangelical ministry has heroically supported every effort of the liberal elements to bring about legislation securing rights for unprivileged exploited groups, making compulsory the civil registry of births, and marriage a legal contract. Argentina is still without divorce laws. Chile and Uruguay have effected a separation of church and state after prolonged and bitter struggles. In other countries, as in Argentina, the clerical element is still strong and well organized, so that the securing of legal reforms requires a long time, and can be brought about only after hard effort.

With the exception of Uruguay, which has no Indian population, the indigenous races constitute a serious problem in Latin America. In the United States and Canada at least something has been done for the Indians; in Latin America practically nothing has been done. The Roman Catholic practice of baptizing Indians in groups as though they were so

many herds of irrational beings is not equivalent to converting, civilizing and Christianizing them. The work of real Christianity ought to bring them to a personal knowledge of Christ as Lord and Savior. Latin-American Indians live under conditions deplorable from every point of view, and the mission boards of North America have a splendid opportunity to cooperate with our evangelical churches here in the solution of this frightful problem.

Although we have to confess with pain and shame that in the past the different evangelical denominations have not always cooperated to the extent desirable, yet we are glad to be able to say that a new day is dawning, a new spirit is being shown. Jealousy and misunderstandings between denominations are slowly disappearing and, as never before, the different bodies are studying together the great need, and the great opportunity and responsibility which God has given them. It is absolutely necessary in Latin America, as it is also inevitable, that all the different evangelical bodies shall present a common front, well organized and compact, to combat the forces of opposition, obscurantism and vice.

Energy, funds and life have frequently been spent and are being spent in work which does not bring the desired results. Some good brother or sister who is motivated by good intentions but who has been badly advised, comes on his or her own initiative

to South America, imagining that we are still living in wigwams and dressing in feathers, and begins the work of saving souls, with the hope that a group of friends in the home land, equally ignorant of the real situation, will send the funds wherewith to carry on. The result of such unwise undertakings may be witnessed today in many places in Latin America. They generally end in failure and they hurt the evangelical cause. Some sections have been entirely burnt over by the flaming zeal of these independent missionaries with more heat than light. Before permanent work can be undertaken by more reliable and experienced agencies, a period of time must often elapse during which the ill effects of the good-intentioned but ill-advised independent missionary's activities can be offset or forgotten. These activities are often more deplorable when carried on in our larger cities, which are more or less cultural and educational centers, and where it is not possible to reach the great mass of population with inadequate methods and means.

We could not close this chapter without appreciative reference to the work which has been and is being done by the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, with its headquarters in New York City. The object of this committee is to correlate and coordinate the work of the twenty-five or more mission boards which operate in Latin America. It serves as a

clearing house for all these organizations, and a great deal has been done through careful study of the field by its secretaries. The overlapping of territorial responsibility has been largely avoided, and many union institutions and movements have been organized. One of the best-known missionary statesmen in the United States, after a recent visit to the Far East, declared that cooperation in Christian work is much more advanced in Latin America than in China, Japan, or India.

From the ancient domain of the Aztecs southward across the Caribbean Sea, past the dense forests of Venezuela down to the land of the Incas and to the plains of the Araucanians, over the high mountains to the pampas of Argentina until at last one reaches the Straits of Magellan and Cape Horn—in no other continent of the world has God opened up to Protestant workers greater opportunities for evangelism. Unfortunately, in no other great mission field do we find Protestant Christians giving as little money and as few men to the work. This is doubtless due to the false belief that the Latin-American people are already Christianized, that in fact, no less than in theory, they have already received the full gospel. On the contrary, let it be definitely understood that this is not the case. They are as greatly in need of the gospel as are the Mongolians in the Far East or the Hottentots in Africa. We understand that not all of

our readers will accept this statement, which is somewhat strong, it is true. We are sorry, but we must make it nevertheless. It is the genuine and sincere expression of our belief, and we feel impelled to stress it in this crude manner because we know that the contrary idea prevails among some of the Christian people of North America who are supporting the evangelical movement, the mistaken idea that in these lands Jesus Christ has already been made known.

Daniel Enrique Hall

Buenos Aires

V

OPPORTUNITIES OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES

IT was never the lot of the Latin-American republics to receive a religious heritage so vital, so virile and so pure as that of our sister republic to the north. The *conquistadores* when they landed on our shores planted the Spanish flag and the cross of Christ side by side, taking possession of the land in the names of Castilla and León and of the Catholic Apostolic Church. After the *conquistadores*, who came "to maintain the empire, bringing the pomp of war and the reign of fear," there came the priest, or missionary friar, who followed behind with the uplifted crucifix to convert the indigenous tribes. And if the Indians "resisted unto blood," and they often did, the same messenger of God would call out to the Spanish soldiers, "Fall on, Castilians, I absolve you!" Some of these messengers of the cross were consecrated and faithful followers of Him who said, "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all nations," but many of them were ready, so long as the interests and fortunes of their church were conserved or advanced, to place the seal of approbation on exploita-

tions and improper practices perpetrated by the rulers and the subordinate officials.

Generally speaking, unlike the Pilgrim Fathers, neither the *conquistadores*, the priests nor the friars came to this continent seeking a new home where they might worship God according to the dictation of their own conscience and enjoy a larger measure of political freedom. They did not come with the simple purpose to establish a community founded on the freedom wherewith Christ has made us free. Many of them came rather to exploit the rich mines of Potosí and to lay their hands on the fabulous wealth of Montezuma, led by the spirit of adventure and the thirst for gain rather than by any zeal to realize noble ideals.

Great indeed were the opportunities of doing good which the church of the *conquistadores* controlled. She held absolute dominion over the conscience of the people. Her influence on public and private affairs was all-powerful, and may be verified by the pages of history and by the monuments which adorn the plazas and public places of Latin-American cities today. But this ascendancy over the public as well as the private conscience made the church leaders haughty and despotic. They abused their trust and became corrupt in their practices. Today, by the continued misuse of their moral and religious authority, they have lost control over large sections of the people and over the political affairs of most of the

Latin-American countries. Many intellectual and serious-minded men of these countries not only repudiate the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, but they have come to associate with the words church and religion the ideas of obscurantism, ignorance, fanaticism and oppression. Hence their philosophy of life and their ethical teachings are atheistic, materialistic or agnostic. "We are in the realest of realism," says a Brazilian philosopher. "The reason meditates not on theological principles but on facts furnished by experience. God is a myth. He has no reality. He is not an object of science."

But it is not alone intellectuals who show lack of confidence in or fellowship with the established religion. The ordinary population, even though they may seek the offices of the priest to baptize their children and to marry them, often regard the church as a feeble and antiquated institution. A well-known writer quotes the Archbishop of Sâo Paulo as saying, "Brazil no longer has any faith. Religion is almost extinct." An eminent lawyer remarks, "I do not think that religion has ever had any serious influence on the lives of our people. Those who call themselves religious have never been able to see in religion anything but mere formulas and rites; those who are not religious could never see anything else in religion but pure superstition. Hence in no case was religion a sure guide to regulate conduct for the former, nor

was it worthy of serious consideration for the latter."

Frequently we hear the question asked among Protestant people in the United States, "Are we justified in sending missionaries to establish evangelical churches in Roman Catholic countries?" Justification, I think, is to be found in the rapid growth of our evangelical church in Latin America, and in the eagerness with which those who come to know the unadulterated teachings and ideals of Christ give themselves unreservedly to the propagation of the faith. Because of its simplicity, its moral purity, and its spiritual power, the gospel of Jesus Christ appeals to many of my countrymen. It comes with no other authority than that of its inherent force. This makes its appeal all the more imperative. In spite of a manifest complacency on the part of many men and women here, it is not difficult to sense a spiritual loneliness and heart-hunger which impel many to seek respite and surcease from sorrow in theosophy or spiritism. Others are constrained to come to us. But the great majority go to fill the ranks of those who find refuge in atheism, or make of socialism a poor substitute for religion.

A certain racial dignity of our people will not allow the sons and daughters of these countries to submit or yield to a despotic power, whether it be political or ecclesiastical. Little by little, with the onward march of events, these Latin countries are be-

coming emancipated from the tutelage of the Roman Catholic Church. Republics like Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Ecuador and Mexico have complete separation of church and state, and some of them are making a fight to free themselves completely from Rome. The students of our universities and the intellectuals are demanding wider religious horizons and a more tolerant orientation in the things of the spirit. One student writer says, "Masters of a world of ideas, we are still wandering in search of a moral ideal. In our march toward the unknown, will our gross material instincts be a sure guide? Although we are destined to reap an abundant harvest of good and evil from our contact with others, our teachers have failed to point out to us the ethical end of our personality."

The evangelical church is seeking to meet this need. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Chile says in one of his perorations: "Brethren, you may say what you will about the Protestants, but they have three things that we may well learn from them. They have a clergy whose life is beyond reproach, whereas ours is the laughing stock of the whole country. They preach and they practise repentance, and we ought to do the same. They have the open Bible and put it in the hands of their people." The name Protestant attached to a man or woman in Latin America has come to mean a person who is conceded to observe

a high standard of conduct and morals, even by those who would consider him a heretic theologically. More and more our leading men everywhere are coming to see that the pure and simple gospel which our evangelical church preaches has in it the refining fire and moral tonic so greatly needed in the life of Latin America today. They realize that it is not an exotic imported religion, but the good news of the Kingdom for all men everywhere.

Many and difficult are the problems which the evangelical church must solve and the obstacles it must overcome in order to fulfil its God-given mission in these countries. One of the problems is that of bringing to the constituency of the church a new vision of the Saviorhood and Lordship of Jesus Christ and the fulness of life that is in him. On her records the church has the names of many men and women who, although bearing the name of evangelical Christians, have never experienced the power of Christ to save everyone that believeth. Many of these nominal Christians were once communicants of the Roman Catholic Church. They have changed their former manner of living, but they have never borne the fruits of their new belief. They seem not to have understood the meaning of the new birth nor to have experienced it. Lacking a new vision of Christ and a daily experience of life in him and of him in them, many of our church members are indifferent or inef-

fective witnesses of all that the Protestant faith offers. In many instances they are satisfied with observing rules of conduct and believing a given set of doctrines which to them appear orthodox and seem to insure eternal life. I fear that many have been merely converted against Romanism and not yet fully converted to Christ. They seem to mistake zeal in propaganda against the Roman Catholic Church for daily striving after the attainments of the Christ life and character.

Another root problem of the evangelical church in Latin America is that of finding a way to enlist and hold the children of converts and the young people of the community. Unfortunately too much of our preaching and teaching has been dogmatic in character, controversial, and not of very high quality intellectually. We have failed in two very important respects, it seems to me. In the first place, we have thus far failed to make our preaching and teaching a challenge to young people. And because the gospel has not been presented in a form and manner designed to challenge these young people, many of them have either become indifferent to it or have accepted it as something wished upon them, rather than as the gift of life which they have desired for themselves. In the second place, we have failed to hold the young people because we either did not or could not give them a proper social environment in

which to express their social natures. Not finding an attractive or satisfying social life in the church, they have been lured away from the church in their quest of social activities and entertainment. Just as essential as Bibles and missionaries are playgrounds and playground equipment, social halls and whatever else will contribute to the normal and free expression of youth in social relations and activities. Thus far we have not been able to supply our youth with these things, nor have the mission boards been as alert to cooperate with us in meeting this most urgent need as many of us wish they might be.

Up to this time little has been done by the evangelical churches in distributing their workers and in systematically and unitedly planning for a more effective Christian witness and service throughout Latin America. We have left too much to chance. A great many of our churches have been established without account being taken of strategic elements in their locations, the factors of need, or the probabilities of their becoming centers of influence and evangelism for surrounding territories. They were started because some Christian family moved into a given neighborhood, perhaps. Often after years of mere existence and heroic effort on the part of a faithful few, such churches have had to be suspended, or if they are still maintained it is because we continue to insist that the corpse is not dead. Meanwhile many of

our most important and promising centers of population remain unevangelized. We are not employing good generalship in our work. If we have failed or made mistakes in the past, let us not be ashamed, as missions and as churches, to admit this fact. We need to subject our work to a rigid survey, and then, with the whole of Latin America and its needs before us, plan unitedly for the best possible disposition and expenditure of men, money and literature. Some progress in this direction has been made, but it is only a beginning.

The question of nationalizing the evangelical church or churches is rapidly coming to the front in such countries as Argentina and Uruguay. Without self-government, self-support and self-diffusion or propagation, however, a national indigenous church would be merely anomalous. In at least one denomination this question of independence has been agitated for ten years. In some of the evangelical churches of Argentina and of Uruguay more able and mature leadership is coming into control, greater aggressiveness is being shown by the indigenous ministry and laity, and year by year an increasing portion of the financial burden is being borne by the native churches and a smaller portion by the missions. It seems only natural that as more adequate leadership is developed the problem of self-support will be solved.

A larger assumption of the financial burden and a change in the relations between missionaries and native Christian leaders will go far toward answering those who say that the evangelical church is a foreign institution, the handmaiden of American and English imperialism. On the other hand, if we assume greater responsibilities in self-support and self-control, are we sufficiently able to maintain a robust existence and at the same time minister to the spiritual needs of unreached millions all about us? Again we might state the problem in this wise: Is it fair to be dependent any longer on our Christian friends, in Protestant North America and in Europe, who have been aiding us with their money and some of their best sons and daughters? Ought we not, even though still young, to begin to walk alone? Or will we continue for years to live an indigent life, holding fast to our foreign crutches longer than we need to or ought to for our good?

Until we solve the problem of leadership in our evangelical churches I believe we shall not be able to solve in any permanent way our problems of self-support, self-diffusion, and the like. A supply of able leaders calls for extensive high-grade educational facilities. Before we can have an adequate national leadership our young men and women must be given a Christian education. They must be trained as evangelists, preachers, teachers and administrators. This

implies the reorganization of our educational institutions, the founding of some and the strengthening of others. It means that we shall have to raise the entrance requirements, demanding a higher type of student in all our schools.

No nation is ready to assume the responsibilities of self-government until its constituents have available the elements of an education designed to fit them to exercise the true functions of democracy. Likewise, in the management and direction of the affairs of the church we shall not be ready to assume complete self-government and self-direction until our ministers as well as our laymen, the leaders as well as those who are led, have the necessary spiritual qualification and general education. Especially does this mean raising the requirements of scholarship of those who present themselves as candidates for the ministry. This in turn calls for better theological schools, equipped with better library facilities and with better teaching staffs. The requirement cannot be met by any one single mission or denomination. You in Protestant North America who work among us can help us if you will get together and meet our larger common needs through your cooperative efforts.

The evangelical church in Latin America is suffering from a dearth of good Christian literature. There is need of up-to-date textbooks for theological stu-

dents and ministers, of sermons, commentaries and devotional books. We need more and better Sunday school literature, books and periodicals dealing with young people's problems, Christian education, and community welfare. Wholesome fiction is desperately needed, and, last but not least, works like Dr. Fosdick's *The Manhood of the Master*, *The Meaning of Service*, presenting Christianity in such a way that it will appeal to the student mind. In short we need literature which inspires, literature to guide and feed the mind, to strengthen the heart and to move the will of our young generation. We invite and urge the young college students of North America to assist us to meet this need.

One of the greatest hindrances to the spread and growth of the Protestant faith in all of these countries is the lack of knowledge concerning our evangelical churches. Generally speaking, people on the outside know very little about our teachings or our ideals, or that little has been discolored by half-truths or misrepresentations. It is not only that the Roman Catholic Church has been accused of distorting the facts concerning Protestantism, and of giving the people erroneous ideas of what the evangelical churches really teach and practise. Many well-intentioned but poorly-guided missionaries and native leaders have presented the gospel in such ways as to offend the religious sensibilities of our Latin-Ameri-

can people, and give very erroneous impressions of Protestantism. Incidentally the presence and practices of these Protestant fanatics reveal how urgent and extreme our need is for better-educated leaders, better literature, better public lectures to disseminate the facts regarding our evangelical teachings and ethical ideals.

Since our intellectuals lean strongly toward the atheistic or materialistic philosophies, the notion is common among us that the spirit of religion in general is contrary to the spirit of scientific investigation; that Christianity is opposed to everything that means progress; that faith is in conflict with science and that the two cannot dwell together. We need strong men in our ranks to disabuse people's minds of these misconceptions, both with the living voice and with the pen, from the platform as well as through the public press. Those who undertake to do this will need to be unusually well-equipped mentally, abreast of the latest scientific methods and discoveries, and will also need to have a knowledge of our Latin temperament and point of view, of our history and of our literature. In short, the men who are to make the church known in Latin America must be from among our own people, and for this reason be more able than the ablest foreign missionary to reach our indifferent multitudes.

One of the great mistakes in our work of the past

is that we have circumscribed ourselves by "preaching the gospel to the poor" almost exclusively. Only to the most humble classes have we endeavored to minister thus far. Has not the day come when, if our church is to influence public opinion in the interests of individual and community betterment, she must make a special effort to extend her appeal and her ministry to include the more privileged and the intellectual classes? Until now there are "not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble" among us. Socialism is making rapid progress in Latin-American countries. The conflict between capital and labor is rapidly approaching a crisis. Until recently our population has been largely rural and agricultural, but it is becoming urban and industrial, changing the economic status of the masses and greatly emphasizing class differences. A storm is approaching and some of our farsighted leaders have begun to descry the lowering cloud. Just as the *pampero* which slides gently down the eastern slope of the Andes gathers momentum as it sweeps across the pampa and whips itself into an infernal fury, so this conflict between labor and capital is gathering strength as it rises, and threatens to hurl itself some day soon in destructive blasts against the privileged landlords and industrialists who thus far have ignored its approach.

In the face of such a pending disaster, will the

Protestant church, regardless of the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church, still hesitate to preach a social gospel? Too long she has hesitated; too long the missionaries and native evangelists have concerned themselves almost exclusively with preparing men and women for life beyond the grave. They have preached an individual gospel and have left social problems largely in the hands and at the mercies of politicians and millionaires. Today the socialists are telling the Protestant Christians to "step aside, give us room, and we will show you how to create a new social order." Will we give way to them? We jeopardize our cause daily by insisting on being merely "other-worldly." Christ came to bring Latin America abundant life now. The time has come when to preach this gospel in these countries is to stress its social message and to challenge Christians with its social implications and demands.

The church in these countries must demonstrate to the people outside of her constituency—and perhaps once more to those within the ranks—that the Christian religion is not dogma but life; it is not one special brand of theology better than all others, but a living spirit; it is not the religious thought and experience of the ages crystallized into a creed, but the everyday teachings of Christ transfused into the life of the believer, and revealed through the turmoil, the anxieties, the manifold duties and the

varied social relations of everyday experience. We must show to these peoples, accustomed to think of religion in terms of ritual and formalities, that Christianity is a power giving life to the spirit and fortitude to the soul, that it inspires, remotivates and transforms.

There are thousands of our men and women who do not know and have not experienced the Christian religion after this manner, however much they may feel the need of it. On our church rests the responsibility of showing them that evangelical Christianity is more than intellectual acceptance of a set of so-called orthodox beliefs, that it is "life more abundant." In discharging this responsibility we crave the example and encouragement of the missionary and the Protestant churches of North America.

The Latin-American states are new countries, full of possibilities, ambitious and progressive, ready to welcome new ideas, especially in the fields of social reform and political reorganization. The day is near at hand when these countries will endeavor to set up their own norms for international policies. They are already beginning to exert an influence on international affairs, and it will not be long before their opinions and decisions will weigh more heavily than they do at present. As we have said, the number of intellectuals in these countries is small, but they exert an influence out of all proportion to their numerical

strength. As goes the small student and intellectual class, so goes the country. Therefore if the gospel would make itself felt in Latin-American international affairs to the well-being of humanity, it must reach this student and intellectual class. What an opportunity! Except for the activities of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., however, very little is being done thus far by the evangelical churches to reach this class.

Regardless of the fact that these countries are republican in name and form, in practice they are as a rule centralized and paternal. The truth conveyed by the phrase "all for one and each for all" is poorly understood. The governments of most of the republics, outside the larger capitals, are still dominated by bosses (*caudillos*). Political corruption has become chronic. There is too much bureaucracy, there are too many subordinate officials without the qualifications for office. One Latin-American country in 1914, with less than eight million population, had 85,000 governmental employees, while the United States with a population of a hundred million had only 150,000. In addition there is great waste of public money, with the inevitable consequence that the common people are overburdened with taxes and made the victims of political revolutions.

What may we ask our church to do to help the state in setting up new political ideals so that the

public administration may be honest, and the spirit of public welfare and fair play may predominate? We believe that she can do much in many ways. By cooperative effort on the part of the various churches, by presenting the gospel in such a way that it will appeal to the intellectual classes, and by emphasizing the social message, much can be done to build the essential features of the Kingdom of God into the national life. The open Bible and the untrammelled interpretation of its message and spirit will powerfully influence reform. Herein will the church find her true mission within the nation.

One thing difficult for Latin Americans to understand is why there are so many competing denominations, sometimes saying ugly things about each other, while all profess to be Christian. With a few notable exceptions the denominations working in these countries have shown very little inclination to cooperate. This has been a great obstacle to the advancement of the gospel. Failing to cooperate, the churches of the different denominations have been unable to undertake great enterprises where united action is demanded to assure success.

But our churches have shown themselves even more reluctant in cooperating with outside institutions. Many of these agencies have well defined programs and are earnestly working to bring about social reform. We have not yet learned the secret of capi-

talizing the good impulses and noble effort of every sort which tend to lift men and entire communities out of misery and sin. We lay ourselves open to the charge of being like those who forbade certain others doing the work of Christ because "they followed not us." We have yet to learn that "he who is not against us is for us." Our church must learn to sow bountifully without taking into account the immediate results. She must look not so much for numerical results as for the leavening, redeeming effect of the gospel on society. We must do as the Master did—make the gospel homocentric, with no other idea in mind but that of serving men by bringing them into a new relationship with God and with their fellowmen.

GABINO RODRIGUEZ

Buenos Aires

VI

INTER-AMERICAN COOPERATION

POLITICAL and economic relations, while providing opportunities for the interflow of cultural elements in different civilizations, seldom furnish the necessary motives. For this reason it becomes the function of interested individuals or groups of individuals to exchange contributions of a social, religious and educational character which are commonly designated as philanthropic or missionary. Within the last century Latin America has received generous contributions of this sort from the Protestant religious leaders and the institutions of Europe and of Anglo-Saxon America. Side by side with the banking and shipping houses owned and managed by foreign commercial interests, the traveler to Latin America today finds schools, hospitals and churches founded and directed by Christian missionaries.

When at the beginning of the nineteenth century Latin America was opened to foreign trade, England immediately began an economic interchange which has steadily expanded through the years. Shortly afterward came European immigration, and then also North American commerce. The immi-

grants from Europe who settled in Argentina, Uruguay, southern Brazil and southern Chile had a profound influence upon the development of these countries. British and American business also exerted a powerful and growing influence in the field of commerce and industry. Intimate contact, however, between the native people and the representatives of British and American business has never been made. The Britisher and the citizen of the United States have as a rule isolated themselves from the native inhabitants and have given the impression of feeling a sense of superiority. This attitude of superiority and aloofness has inevitably produced an unfavorable impression on Latin Americans, who are proud of their racial and cultural heritage. The small groups from the United States, Confederates from the South, who migrated to Brazil in 1865 after the Civil War, serve to illustrate how the superiority complex of the Anglo-Saxon has clashed with the Latin-American temperament and the growing national consciousness, whenever and wherever a spiritual solvent has not come into action. These descendants preserve their Anglo-Saxon inheritance intact as a sacred trust, and the majority of their descendants of the third generation to this day do not speak correctly the language of the country where they live.

Moreover, while the business representatives of England and of the United States observe in general

the ethical standards commonly accepted in the business world, there are always a certain number who do not hesitate to resort to dishonest practices. The conduct, ideals and inhumane considerations of these few tend to create a widespread attitude of suspicion and distrust towards the countries and peoples they represent. Again, the different cultural heritage of Latin America and Anglo-Saxon America, coupled with the different social development, temperament and conflicting interests, has created conditions which do not favor mutual understanding and active good will between the two dominant racial groups in the Western hemisphere. To make matters worse, the Panama Canal, which was hailed as a great factor in the strengthening of international bonds, has proved to be quite the contrary, for since its completion the gulf of suspicion and misunderstanding has steadily widened. Conflicting political and economic interests, selfish statesmanship and the unscrupulous efforts of powerful business elements interested in promoting fear and ill-will among the lower classes, have worked together to strengthen this attitude of apprehension and distrust towards the United States throughout Latin America. This has been very actively stimulated in recent months by the Mexican and Nicaraguan questions.

There is perhaps no cooperation between Anglo-Saxon and Latin America that is freer from suspi-

cion and more productive of benefits than that of international social service. Quite apart from the valuable contributions rendered, this type of service does much to counteract the unfavorable influences. This is particularly true as regards an appreciation by Latin Americans of the idealism of the people of the United States. García Calderón, in his book *La Creación de un Continente*, states that the idealistic United States is unknown in Latin America. And indeed the average Central or South American finds it difficult to associate idealism with the amazing material program and prosperity of North America.

The noble and disinterested work of the Rockefeller Foundation in Latin America, its tactful and helpful relationships with government and with the medical profession, may be taken as a model of the kind of relationship between the two continents that will aid most effectively to disarm distrust and create good-will. It is true that among the highly suspicious even such service has been charged with having a commercial motive, but the charges can always be successfully met by the thoughtful people of both countries concerned.

No better international service can be rendered than that of multiplying the personal contacts between our people. A distinguished South American statesman has emphasized that right international relations are created not by treaties and diplomats but

by the mutual understanding, respect and esteem of the people themselves. To this end, inter-American travel should be encouraged. Happily such travel has greatly increased in recent years, and while some of the travelers do not reflect credit upon their countrymen at home, the number of those who are representative of the best in their respective countries is steadily increasing and the resultant good effects are everywhere apparent. The boisterous, unruly traveler, squandering dollars, drinking heavily, gambling and dancing indecently, is always objectionable and will always cause bad impressions and misunderstandings; much more so to the Latin American, as the average well-bred Latin American has a keen sense of propriety in social life. It is particularly gratifying to note the increase in the number of the visitors bent on scientific or cultural missions. Such men come into touch with nationals who represent the best in the intellectual and moral life of the countries visited, and become fair and effective interpreters on their return home. The greatest esteem for a foreign people is almost invariably held by the men and women who know that people most intimately. It is the superficial globe trotter who is most likely to find only material for unfavorable criticism.

Another factor which has a large bearing upon the kind of cooperation that may be acceptable from

Anglo-Saxon America in the future is the growing nationalism which Latin-American countries are experiencing in common with other countries throughout the world. They have found this nationalism has been stimulated by the same events that have contributed to the feeling of unfriendliness between them and the United States. Moreover, some of the methods employed in the field of business and investment, which have meant unequal compensation as between native and foreign employees, but much more the actual exploitation not only of the natural resources but of the people themselves for the profit and benefit of the foreigner, have also greatly contributed to this growing spirit of nationalism. There also have developed several new points of friction, making international cooperation of whatever sort and however disinterested less readily accepted. International cooperation of every kind today calls for leadership of great tact and ability, wholly free from narrow-mindedness and racial prejudices.

Cooperation in the field of education and religion has been a factor of great positive service. The missionaries sent out from the United States early turned their attention to education, and men like John Butler in Mexico, Morton and Lane in Brazil, and Trumbull in Chile will always be counted among the great pioneers in Latin-American education. Moreover, those engaged in evangelistic work have rendered a

service to vital Christianity. In addition to establishing churches and developing an intelligent and earnest Christian membership, they have, through their intimate contact with the people, by precept and example exerted a deep and lasting influence. Through them large numbers have come to have a high regard for the country and the people from which they came. Missionaries have had a much larger place than diplomats as creators of good-will and understanding between the Americas. Not all, of course, have successfully fulfilled their function. Not all are equally well prepared and qualified. Some are not free from race prejudice or the superiority complex, and have failed to take advantage of the opportunities of service confronting them. But in the main they have been characterized by a high sense of their mission and a truly Christian spirit of service. They have established schools and churches, many of which have become self-directing and self-supporting, and they have striven to educate their membership and to create among them a high type of citizen.

The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America acts as a clearing house and board of strategy for thirty different mission boards having work in Latin America. It brings the mission boards around a common council table to discuss all the problems connected with their work. It keeps a constant circle of helpful contacts and good-will circulating through

them. It pushes cooperative enterprises which would otherwise languish. It maintains helpful and broadening contacts with missionaries on the field. It saves the boards much money by doing for all of them work which individual boards would otherwise have to undertake. It represents the evangelical church in many Pan-American movements which might otherwise overlook the importance of the Christian forces. It gives out a large amount of information to the press, schools, business concerns, and private individuals, thus keeping missionary work in the public mind. It arranges addresses and conducts classes on Latin-American topics in churches, conferences, conventions and educational institutions. It is developing an ever widening acquaintance with the intellectual leaders in Latin America, and undertakes to interpret to them the sense in North America of the spirit and purpose of Christianity.

At no time has the work of this committee been so important as at present. Commerce between the United States and Latin America has grown from $700,000,000 at the beginning of the World War to $3,000,000,000 in 1926. The political influence of the United States in the Caribbean district especially has recently been vitally increased. The spiritual influence of the North American people should certainly grow commensurately with these other influences. A pretty clear agreement concerning the

occupation of territory by the mission boards has been reached in practically all Latin-American countries except Argentina and Brazil. Even in these two countries there have been gentlemen's agreements between individual boards, but as yet no general understanding approved by all or by a majority of the boards concerned. Mexico and Porto Rico are probably the best examples of the zone system in missionary work, where each board has a particular territory for which it is responsible, and a large number of boards are cooperating in union enterprises.

§

As one surveys present conditions in Latin America, the need of further cooperation along educational, medical, social and religious lines is very apparent. This need grows out of the enormous task of religious reform and social betterment on the one hand, and out of the limited Christian forces on the other. There is a vast territory, both in terms geographical and in terms of life and thought, to be covered. Illiteracy, for example, which ranges from forty per cent to perhaps eighty per cent in the different Latin-American countries, presents a task that the Christian forces must share with governments if democracy and vital Christianity are to prevail.

The form of religion which presided over the birth and growth of Latin-American civilization has failed

to give to the masses either education or a vital Christianity. A Brazilian writer has recently published the following typical statement: "Catholicism has the largest share of responsibility for the eighty per cent of the illiteracy among the people of Brazil." He describes the great masses of illiterate people as "inactive, fatalistic, passive, resigned, brutalized, inert, and incapable." That such testimony can be given after centuries of undisturbed dominion of the Roman Catholic Church is no pleasing commentary on the tactful discharge of responsibilities. President Bernardez of Brazil said recently: "While the nation retains in her bosom such a shameful number of illiterates, she will have a cancer gnawing at her vitals and will be incapable of progress, weighed down by the obscurantism of her children to treachery and superstition."

The tides of immigration are adding to the task of the evangelical churches, particularly in Argentina and Brazil. Latin America began as a military dictatorship, and from the beginning there has remained a great gulf between the very limited ruling group and the great mass of the people. Some of the countries had an illiteracy as high as ninety-nine per cent when they began their independent life. Such educational institutions as existed through the colonial period were for the exclusive use of the upper class.

Popular education was unknown. All control of economic resources as well as of political affairs was in the hands of the small privileged group. Even down to our own time the masses have remained largely in a state of economic, intellectual and spiritual poverty.

In their long struggle for democracy our governments have been handicapped by forces and conditions inherited from colonial times. The political dissensions of the last hundred years have militated strongly against the natural evolution of any of the great constructive agencies of democracy. Today most of our Latin-American countries are laboring under unusual handicaps, only a few of which are fully appreciated by our great North American neighbor. One severe handicap which foreign cooperation can help remove is that of which we have just been writing—illiteracy. Everywhere we are in desperate need of general education, particularly of schools of primary and secondary grade. The past influence of mission schools in the reorganization of primary education in some of the Latin-American republics has been very great. Generally speaking, while our government primary schools are today modern and efficient, they are wholly inadequate in number. Brazil, for example, has a little over a million children in school, while five millions have no schools of any kind available for them. Were Brazil as well supplied with school teachers in proportion to her population as is

the United States, she would have a hundred and sixty thousand instead of only twenty-five thousand, which is the actual number at present. Laws making school attendance compulsory exist in some countries, but cannot be enforced for the want of schools and teachers. The financial condition of many of our countries makes it impossible for them to cope single-handed with this problem. There is also great and urgent need of further cooperation in secondary education.

Another great problem is that of health, and it is a problem closely related to that of education. The living conditions of our masses must be greatly improved before life can develop normally. Much disease and suffering exist through the people's sheer ignorance of the elementary principles of health. Leprosy is still a great curse in some sections. Malaria and hookworm are destroying the vitality of millions. This condition, coupled with illiteracy, superstition, and economic poverty, leaves whole communities in a most deplorable state. Many of the republics have made an excellent beginning at correcting conditions. They have organized health departments, established laboratories, and developed a good leadership in the field. But the utmost they can do is still wholly inadequate. For instance, when the opportunity arose to placard a large section of southern Brazil with educational posters published by the

Federal Public Health Bureau, only a few copies were available on account of lack of funds. In a town of 100,000, with a large number of laborers living under unsanitary conditions, there is one trained teacher-nurse, using the best scientific methods of social survey and research, but still only one in number. Forced economy on the part of governments often limits this public health education service to a small area. In a vast country like Brazil even the larger cities and towns along the coast are poorly supplied with this service. The great hinterland remains wholly without it.

There are also many social problems growing out of the mingling of races, and out of the rapid development of industrial and natural resources, these last promoted chiefly by foreign capital, which as a rule has concern only for profit and almost no concern for the welfare of the men and women whom it exploits.

The findings of the interdenominational Conference on Christian Work held in Montevideo in the spring of 1925 present the greatest challenge that Latin America has ever made to the evangelical church and to the generous-hearted people of the United States, in requesting cooperation with the evangelical churches in a comprehensive program of spiritual, educational and social advance. The findings represent not alone South American opinion,

both of the evangelical forces and of South American educators present at Montevideo, but they are unanimously endorsed by each of the regional conferences which were held following that general congress. They call for the following personnel: a specialist in social service for South America; a specialist in public health in South America; a publication agent for South America; secretaries for cooperation in Spanish-speaking South America; exchange lecturers; workers among students in university centers and among special groups of educated people, supported cooperatively; workers among Indians, supported cooperatively. The Indians of South America offer one of the largest single challenges to Christianity and its educational program to be found anywhere in the world. There are about ten millions of them still living in primitive conditions, without the advantages of Christian civilization.

The following statement from a prominent Brazilian worker is enlightening: "As to the work of the proposed specialists, they should plan to give a long time to surveying the situation and the surprising abundance of elements already at work here; to finding out what is lacking, and to understanding clearly that along some lines the pioneering work has long since been done. Our chief problem now is to coordinate the churches with those organizations which would gladly accept Christian leadership if wisely,

humbly and effectively offered in a Christlike way. We have too often an interest in our church's work alone. My own experience in working with the Rotary Club, children's welfare, National Association for Education, and with the campaign against the reaction of the Romish clergy justifies me in making this statement."

A further analysis of the findings of this significant congress suggests the following program for the evangelical missionary and church agencies in Latin America during the years immediately ahead:

(1) A continental evangelistic campaign; (2) the development of an indigenous curriculum for South American Sunday schools and day schools; (3) a Latin-American conference of evangelical publishers and editors; (4) a series of lectures on Christian themes for the general public, both by nationals and foreigners; (5) cooperative community surveys; (6) united continental program for public health; (7) a union hymn-book in Spanish and one in Portuguese; (8) literature on social service; (9) more cooperative publication centers and union papers; (10) prizes for literary production; (11) union work among Indians; (12) union international theological schools, with schools of social sciences and languages; (13) union agricultural schools; (14) federation of young people's societies; (15) common name "evangelical" for churches, with denominational name in paren-

thesis when necessary; (16) special studies on immigration, social and economic movements, religious education in the home, etc.

An event of unusual significance in the publishing world and in Spanish-speaking Protestantism is the publication by Jorro, one of the biggest publishing houses in Madrid, of a translation of *The Meaning of Faith*, by Fosdick. It is probably the first time that a large secular publishing house in the Spanish-speaking world has deliberately disregarded the criticism that will be brought on it by reactionary forces and put its imprint on a Protestant book, so distinctly religious that it contains scripture and prayers for daily study. The publication of this book by the house of Jorro means that it will automatically be put on sale in the large book stores all over the Spanish-speaking world.

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From the foregoing statements it is clear that there is still great need of cooperation from abroad along evangelistic, educational, and social lines, but that the missionary work of the future must be increasingly supplementary and cooperative. Missionary problems in Latin America are now chiefly problems of relationships and cooperation. The indigenous churches, governmental agencies, and the philanthropical and scientific forces of the countries themselves must be considered the nuclei of all national crusades for the

uplift of the people. The patronizing attitude of the missionary who comes as a "pioneer" to work among the inheritors of the great Mediterranean civilization, who possess, though on a small and inadequate scale, the best and most modern things that knowledge and money can secure, will encounter resentment and create misunderstanding even among the best friends of the missionary enterprise. Moreover, if these indigenous evangelical forces are ignored, missionary endeavor in Latin America runs the risk of starting a movement exotic and competitive that will duplicate what already exists even though insufficiently developed.

Whether missions are established in regions where the indigenous churches have reached self-consciousness and autonomy, or where the work is still in the pioneering stage, the indigenous church should have the right of way. Discrimination should be made from the outset between the forces and responsibilities of the missionary and the life and work of the indigenous church. This general principle must be the guiding rule in every line of missionary endeavor, whether in the ecclesiastical, social or educational field. It is, after all, the native leadership that will best convey the message of the native people.

There is need of continued cooperation in order that the work of evangelism may be more extensively carried forward to the whole Latin-American popula-

tion. This involves extending the work to the great hitherto unreached interior of the continent. Here in the vast regions where life is still primitive and the people still simple and unsophisticated, where education, sanitation and the essentials of social life are still at a minimum, the missionary forces of Protestantism face unparalleled need. The challenge before evangelical churches everywhere is to release in the hinterland of Latin America those spiritual forces which will purify social life and help create a Christian public conscience before Western industrialism and its attendant economic and social life become too dominant.

Another need as regards expansion of our evangelistic work is for filling in the many important gaps in the populated centers. Sometimes in the populated areas a large town has been passed over, or even groups of towns where no organized Protestant work has ever been established. Moreover, if the indigenous churches could have economic cooperation from Protestant churches in North America in providing the equipment that is needed, their work in these important centers would be more effective amongst the more privileged classes of the people.

Nothing would find a warmer or more grateful response in Latin America than cooperation in primary and secondary education, and in those social projects that concern the general health and welfare.

Thoughtful leaders in Latin America recognize that if democracy and progress are to characterize their nations, more problems of intellectual and moral betterment must be solved. There is room for unlimited cooperation in the fields of organized recreation, good citizenship, right relations in industry, social relations between the sexes, and similar fields, provided always that this cooperation from missionary and philanthropic agencies is given in terms of service and not of patronizing control. The various liaison agencies established in Europe, the successful experiments in Latin America by the Committee on Cooperation of the Churches and by the World Sunday School Association, indicate that the missionary forces may in the future render great service through the establishment of highly organized, well-equipped and well-manned bureaus for survey and research work and for the coordination of existing forces, with a view to lessening duplication and expense.

With the single exception of evangelistic work in connection with denominations already established on the field, any enlargement of missionary activities in Latin America calls for one clear-cut policy on the part of the mission boards. Their work must be considered and its success judged in terms of services rendered and not in terms of returns that can be tabulated statistically. Moreover, they must conceive of their work in relation to the progress of the King-

dom of God and not in relation to the advance of a particular church or creed. This will call for the increased coordination and cooperation of the evangelical churches and foreign missionary boards. There is need of pooling financial resources, and of enlisting the best talent for the leadership of large enterprises without regard to its ecclesiastic affiliation. Much able leadership now submerged under purely routine work could thus be made effective for service.

The small Protestant communities in Latin America, even where they are comparatively strong and well organized, are confronted with big problems and swamped with heavy financial responsibilities. They spread, as a rule, like a drop of oil on paper. The indigenous churches, which are independent of all foreign help, such as the Congregational Union of Brazil and the Independent Presbyterian Church of Brazil, no less than those churches still receiving foreign mission aid, are heroically struggling to support their ministry, to develop educational agencies and social charities, to publish their church papers, and to erect proper buildings for worship. The methods and motives of raising funds from members in these indigenous churches are altogether different from the methods and motives which were familiar in the Roman Catholic Church from which the large majority of them have been converted.

The pressure of work in the local churches and the

lack of special training of the leaders for general administration, the high expenses involved in establishing central offices which are well equipped and manned for church promotional work, make it difficult to organize boards or committees or to cultivate subscribers to the work of these Protestant churches. Financial distress is the common lot of every indigenous church organization. It is not reasonable to expect that such indigenous Protestant communities, however deeply rooted in the Latin-American soil, will be able at present to occupy any unworked territory adequately and for a long time.

The fringe of the coast line and the territory along some of the railways are dotted with Protestant congregations. But the opening of new fields always raises questions. How can the new field be cultivated? Why sow the seed and then allow the weeds to choke the new plants? How may we develop new enterprises when we lack schools to develop leaders, money to support them, and have no educational movements in our churches designed to give our people a vision of their opportunities and a sense of their responsibility?

The imperial mind of the Latin people cannot understand a competitive Protestantism, and does not trust a small and narrow enterprise that expresses a provincial and sectarian spirit. Latin America therefore challenges the Protestant forces to coordinate

their plans and unite in a single program defined by two movements. The mission boards and the missions on the field should organize general field councils, to work out their problems and ascertain what are the definite aims, methods and relationships of the missionaries among themselves and to the indigenous church and its leaders, and to see how the missions can save men and money in order to do more work and render a better account of their sacred trust. And the indigenous churches, on the other hand, should federate and take up their full responsibility in shaping the national life in accordance with Christian ideals and in response to Christian motives. The connecting link between these two great and harmonious movements will be the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America with headquarters in New York, whose regional committees in Latin America would thus become clearing houses of work on the field.

More than to any other great center of Protestant missionary endeavor the challenge of Latin America comes to the United States and Canada. To you in Anglo-Saxon America our need south of the Rio Grande is inescapable. Continental solidarity has bound the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin American together for some great common destiny and purpose to mankind. Together let us face the great issues in social and political life in this hemisphere. We are

closer neighbors than Europe or the Far East. The recent political entanglements which have caused ripples to trouble the surface of our friendly relationships invite us all to a restudy of continental problems. Apart from the possibility of finding a solvent for the difficult and serious problems that confront us, the future is gloomy. The magic word today in every human endeavor is cooperation. At present the Protestant groups in Latin America are young and not very strong and they are confronted with overwhelming tasks. If therefore for the present cooperation is one-sided we hope it need not always be so. Already there are a few spiritual leaders among us whom we will gladly share with you in grateful recognition of the debt Latin America owes to the many North American missionaries.

Whatever his ecclesiastical affiliation or his administrative relationships, let every missionary who comes to Latin America come with a universal mind, with a desire to become an intelligent, enthusiastic co-worker with the indigenous church leaders, ready to lose himself with us in the great onward movement towards Christ and his Kingdom. No other attitude will suffice for our needs.

ERASMO BRAGA

Rio de Janeiro

VII

YOUTH'S CHALLENGE TO YOUTH

ONE may view the past, present and future in Latin America all at one time. They are all there. Yet once all was the past, and a homogeneous panorama spread itself from the Rio Grande to the Strait of Magellan. The same dust-covered roads burning the bare feet of the trotting Indians; the same cobbled streets lined with pink-washed, red-tiled houses made of mud-bricks; iron balconies jutting into the hot sun; windows heavy with red geraniums; orange trees rising from the shaded patios within; the central plaza in the cool of evening with beaux and belles greeting in coquetry. You see them still, these peaceful communities; but the continental scene is no longer uniform, for sputtering motor trucks dispute the right of way with lumbering ox carts; concrete roads cross the dust-laden paths, and man-shaped rubber from the Amazon rolls smoothly over them; steel skyscrapers dwarf the Spanish belfries; trolley cars clang along macadamized streets, and electric trains laugh at the Indian belaboring his burros. And on the summits stand men gazing over the valleys to where some

day vast ports will open to embosom the ocean liners of all the world, and receive huge airships from the capitals of the United States, Europe, and the East.

Latin America is at the crossroads. Along what course she ultimately will travel depends on the internal and external forces working on her at the present moment—and sometimes it seems that the external forces are of predominating importance. That is why we are justified in considering the growth of Latin America a matter of concern to others, even though the arrival into manhood of twenty young nations may not in itself be an event profoundly to affect the destinies of the other peoples of the globe.

Despite the fact that the new forces were restless in Latin America long before the poppies were trodden down in Flanders fields, the World War can well be taken as marking the initiation of a new era in Latin America as in the rest of the world. There was an awakening then as never before since the days of Bolívar. Isolation was shattered; Europe came to the Hispanic republics for the raw materials urgently needed; wealth began to flow in; railroads, bridges and buildings were constructed; placid communities were rudely stirred; middle classes became self-conscious, began to make their influence felt and their rights respected; laborers organized, and the peon in bondage started to follow the course slavery

had taken. A great clamor for learning and knowledge arose. And youth, fired by visions of a different future, set to work for a new order.

There are several paths that Latin America today may follow. Towards each she is impelled. One is the coasting road that leads down the hill, the road of least resistance, on which she may continue with only the changes demanded by passing years and new developments, following comfortably the deep ruts left by the empires of the world as they have lumbered down that slope to smug self-complacency, pride, bitterness, war—and the junk pile. Another road is a bright, smooth one of wonderful attractiveness. It is obviously modern, and its engineering qualities are superb. When the early wheels of the industrial revolution started to turn, this road was planned, leading to great cities where the shining smooth-running machine is supreme. It is along this road that the United States seems to be enticing Latin America.

A third road leads over the hills to where the sun rises in the east. It winds to unknown regions, dreamed of as El Dorado, but surely less unreal. This is the path the thinking youth of Latin America want to tread. Along this path they feel they can lead the world to new things, burying the superannuated systems of the past, burying the doctrines that have brought war and hate under the guise of

bringing law and order. It is the path of profound social revolution, of experimentation, of toil and struggle, of faith, of love for mankind. Along this path tradition and myth and superstition cannot serve as leaders. Captains are needed, but the captains must be ready to leave behind all the useless impedimenta of accumulated ages, no matter how tender the sentiments of long acquaintance, custom, and habit that may bind them. They must be able to view society not through the glass of tradition but with the eye that sees all human relations, however simple, however complex, as based on love for one's neighbor and consecrated to the welfare of mankind.

"Our America," says the poet and author Palacios, "until today has lived off Europe, having Europe as her guide. . . . But the last war has made evident what was long suspected: that in the heart of that culture lay the germs for its own destruction. . . . The roads of Europe and the old culture no longer serve us. . . . We must emancipate ourselves from the past and the example of Europe. . . . We are nascent peoples free from ties or atavisms, with immense possibilities and vast horizons before us."

"The spirit of Hispanic America is in a process of elaboration," adds a young Peruvian writer; while Alfredo Salas, one of the organizers of the Montevideo Student Conference, writes:

"Let us not renounce the vision, the highest treasure of our soul—the ideal of justice, goal of human welfare. Rather let us realize that justice is the essential root of our character, and that in us it throbs today perhaps more powerfully than in any other peoples of the earth. . . . Ethics, that in European culture have served merely as a plaster to cover the primary instincts, must be for us the basis of collective life, the foundation and apex of our idealism. We should forge, therefore, new ethics, more ample, virile and human, which will guide and utilize the instincts of man instead of misguiding them or trying to suppress them. . . . To do this we need the passion of work and effort, but the height and magnitude of our purposes and a common cause will multiply our forces a hundredfold. Let us reject narrow doctrines and mean desires. Let us forge a strong will and open our spirit to messianic destinies. Let us work not only for ourselves, let us work for the good of all humanity."

If, then, Europe has proved so poor a master, shall America take her place? Señor Salas continues:

"We have been shown as enemies of the United States. This is a mean error. We are the enemies of no peoples, as our idealism is universal and altruistic. We only aspire to forging the personality of Latin America so that she may achieve her destiny. We have a soul of our own, and consequently cannot re-

sign ourselves to the humiliating rôle of satellites of another nation, or the passive instruments of a race whose nature and ideas are absolutely different from ours. We admire the virtues of the Anglo-Saxon race; nevertheless . . . our route has been shown to be opposed to that of the Yankee people. While they have adopted the slogan of 'America for the Americans,' we have adopted 'America for humanity.' Here are two opposed and mutually exclusive ways of looking at life. The Anglo-Saxon race is egotistical; it considers itself privileged and superior to other races. We, on the contrary, feel ourselves brothers of all men. North America has defined herself by developing and perfecting the materialistic, mechanical, and quantitative civilization of Old Europe. We as yet have not had anything to say, because we carry latent within us the new germ that will give another orientation to the culture of the world, and will bring new ideals to humanity. . . . We have nothing to do today with the United States except protect ourselves from voracious capitalists. Those who preach a Pan-Americanism that North America is the first to ignore, conspire against the future of our race. The United States has fulfilled her mission of incomparable dominator of the material. Now we come to fulfill ours, that of interpreters of the spirit."

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The problems before the youth of Latin America seem numberless and of gigantic magnitude. It would be impossible to discuss them all. In politics we must prepare the new generations to supplant the old reactionary political schools in order that our republics may be democracies in fact and not in name only. Sociologically we have all the evils of poverty, vice, crime, illiteracy, alcoholism and prostitution to eradicate, with a general uplifting of the Indian and depressed classes to be effected. Of our spiritual problems, the trends towards materialism, agnosticism, and a philosophy of skepticism seem the most dangerous, because the effects of a materialistic conception of life are pernicious to the social philosophy we wish to develop to the utmost.

The religious problem in Latin America has far-reaching influences. The difficulties in Mexico are only symptoms of the malady affecting the greater part of Latin America. Mexico is in the vanguard of those Hispanic nations preponderatingly indigenous in population; her work in favor of the regeneration of the Indian and his culture, for example, is being slowly imitated in countries possessing a similar problem. The result of Mexico's attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church is being watched by hundreds of thousands in Latin America, because sooner

or later they will be called upon to face the same issues. In different countries the church is being gradually separated from the state. In Chile there has been conflict and much discussion following the recent abolishment of religious instruction in the public schools. In Bolivia the church is involved in serious conflicts with the Indians and in student riots. The malady is not local but continental.

American Catholics can see only relentless persecution of Catholics in Mexico. The Catholics of Anglo-Saxon countries have always been in a position subordinate in the popular mind to that of Protestants. They do not realize that in Latin America the Catholics have always been supreme, with even the state subservient. Catholics of the United States are members of an institution of lofty ideals, the priesthood of which is composed of men of the highest type. They do not know that in Latin America is an institution cancerous and corrupt, which is no longer respected by intelligent people. Everywhere the church and the priests are treated with levity and disrespect; the literature of our countries is sad proof of this. No wonder that Viscount Bryce observed that the "absence of a religious foundation for thought and conduct is a grave misfortune for Latin America." It is a grave misfortune, and the need for a revitalized, purified, and uplifting church is urgent.

"Men in Latin America," says Ernesto Nelson,

the distinguished Argentine educator, "are not religious, and I must declare that the great majority of men who have distinguished themselves in public service are men without church connections. I will go so far as to state that a sort of suspicion lingers about a churchman, for people know that loyalty to the Catholic Church does not always mean loyalty to what is right and just." And an American, Professor E. A. Ross, observed: "The growth of unbelief among the men is the outstanding fact in the religious life in South America." Hundreds of similar extracts might be cited. They are not needed for the person who knows Latin America even superficially.

What is the root cause of this indifference and hostility toward the Catholic church in Mexico? The answer is not difficult to find. A fair-minded American Catholic acknowledges the errors into which the church had fallen previous to the Protestant Reformation. The Latin American Catholic church never felt the purging influence of the Catholic Reformation, but continued in the vices and irregularities that raised the ire of Luther when he hammered his ninety-five theses on the door of the Wittenberg church. It not only continued in them but degenerated into yet more execrable habits. "The Indians of the Sierras," writes Professor Ross, "are exploited by practices which have been illegal since the Council

of Trent." How often in Latin America we wish that a second Luther would be raised among us! How often since coming to the United States I have wished that the Catholics of America would rise up from their inarticulate Catholicism to wipe out the corruption in our religious life and restore once more its lost spiritual and moral values. The future for Latin America looks dark if growing materialism and a decaying church are allowed to continue untouched. If the Roman Catholic Church of the United States is a Christian institution it is her duty to see that the Roman Catholic Church of Latin America is purged and made once again the potent power for good that she should be. If Latin America develops into a concert of atheistic, irreligious nations, the Roman Catholic Church of America, as her neighbor and as an influence of power in the universal church, must bear the brunt of the responsibility.

There are many men of importance in the Catholic church in Latin America, including two or three archbishops, who have raised their voices in protest against conditions. But they are voices in the wilderness. Practically the only commendable work of a social nature sponsored and supported by that church today is the work performed by nuns and laywomen who devote themselves to the maintenance of hospitals and charity institutions, although of late,

under the pressure of Protestant competition, the Knights of Columbus groups and Catholic schools have been increasing in number and activities.

A year or two ago a young Mexican girl returned to her country after a period of study in the United States. She had done great work among the children in Mexico, and had attended Teachers College, Columbia University, for the purpose of studying rural education. During the last semester she happened to attend a class at Union Theological Seminary. It was a revelation to her. The broad doctrines and the sincere spirit she found there were what her latitudinarian soul could not find in the stifling atmosphere of her own church, and she returned to Mexico fired with new enthusiasm.

While I believe that profound changes must take place in the Christian churches the world over in order that they may eliminate the straightjackets of rigid creed and formula they have built up around themselves, I also realize that a great deal would be done for Latin America if the Catholic church as it exists there could be especially purified, and I would appeal to the Catholic youth of the United States that they do everything possible to achieve this end. The attitude of the Catholic church in the United States during the recent Mexican crisis has been a bitter disappointment to those who still had faith in the rehabilitation of the Latin American Catholic

church. American Catholics have not paused to investigate the facts, to find out what the symptoms mean. The result is that Latin Americans have lost even more faith in the Catholic church; it has been seen in a new light, as an ally of imperialism and as a supporter of foreign intervention, as in the days of Maximilian. If there is no hope for its redemption, the only thing to do is to exterminate it. With this surgical operation will go most of the religion Latin America possesses; the blood must go with the flesh. "All over the world today we see the breaking down of all other religions," said Dr. Speer recently. "And now it is going to be the Christian religion or no religion whatever. It is a clear issue between Christianity and agnosticism."

I doubt whether the Protestant missionary is destined to offer the solution of that most perplexing and pressing phase of the religious problem, the moral question. The intelligent people of Latin America who have little use for the Catholic church are neither immoral nor unmoral. Most of them are intensely interested in the ethical problems of the Hispanic continent. Men like Vasconcelos, the former Minister of Education of Mexico, are profound students of comparative religion and ethics. Latin Americans who come to the United States are always surprised at the difference that exists between its churches and their church. Thousands of them are

seeking the magic formulæ that will provide their youth with moral training divorced from religion; for to say that our coming generations must be more moral is almost a platitude.

The Protestant missionary appears unwilling to divorce morals from religion, and the Latin Americans are skeptical of religion. Furthermore, they witness the struggles that divide the Protestants in the United States, and the period of transition their churches are undergoing. Why, we ask, should you send to us men to teach dogmas and creeds which you yourselves are in doubt about or do not accept implicitly? Why send them to us who are surfeited with dogmas and creeds? Well has Dr. Fosdick said that foreign missions begin at home, that persons with influence on the political and economic life at home may have more influence than the missionary on the field. "Christianity," he has said, "is no longer judged by its religious missionaries in the Orient. It is judged both primarily and constantly by the industrial conditions and international policies of so-called Christian lands. The result is disastrous. As one of India's foremost statesmen said recently, 'Your Jesus is hopelessly handicapped with his connection with the West.' " Latin Americans think this too (I refer to those Latin Americans who have lost their faith in the church). The best support missionaries can receive is the support of those Christians at home who

will show a true Christian spirit in their relations with Latin America. Protestant missionaries and dollar diplomacy are poor bedfellows.

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The youth of North America should try to understand the problems of Latin America in the light of their own history. Why censure Mexico because she looks on her revolution of 1910 as marking the beginning of a great epoch in her history, when Americans themselves glory in their own Revolution of 1776? Are not our revolutions, so much ridiculed by the press and the stage, outbreaks of social forces not in equilibrium, struggles of peoples seeking the same liberty and freedom and justice you sought, and not merely theatrical spectacles of the infantile play of tin generals and tinselled presidents? If we have many of them it is because the reactionary forces urging law and order are constantly trying to dam up the surging waters.

And with regard to imperialism, how opinions change with time! Americans, crying for liberty, waged a war which was primarily a struggle against the economic domination of England. As Lord North and his fellow Tories saw only the benefits of the trade the thirteen colonies would enjoy under England's protection, so Americans today cite exactly the same reasons for maintaining control of the Philip-

pines and the Caribbean republics. "There is the vital element of protection," says a New York newspaper, editorially commenting on President Coolidge's veto of the act of the Philippine legislature providing for a plebescite on the question of independence. "Then there are the economic advantages of the present arrangement. Admission of Philippine products into this country free of duty is a highly valuable privilege." And so on in this tenor, duplicating the very arguments the Tories used in trying to prove that the colonies urgently needed the protection of the British navy, the benefits of England's commercial treaties with continental Europe, and the privileges accruing to them as colonies of an empire. Aspirations for independence are not convincingly answered by these arguments.

How eagerly and trustingly the young Latin-American republics, just emerging from thraldom, looked up to their elder sister of the north in those days of the Jeffersons and the Madisons and the Adamses, when a Miranda could be received by Washington as a gallant comrade-in-arms instead of the insurrectionist and dangerous rebel he would be considered today. What a cruel blow was the sudden slap their confiding and unsuspecting spirits received in 1846 with the Mexican War. Soon the glories of a childhood in common were forgotten, and the Latin-American republics realized that their elder

sister had reverted to the old hereditary dominance. As the thirteen American colonies had been subservient to the interests of British empire, so the Latin-American republics were to become subservient to the interests of American empire. Just as the British Tories censured rebellions, revolts and uprisings in the colonies, so the United States censures them today in Latin America. As British Tories censured the necessary breaking-up of large estates and platoons under the Confiscatory Acts, so the United States censures the more measured, legal, and constitutional methods of Mexico in attacking the same conditions. British Tories censured the bitter colonial attacks on the established English church less violently than Americans denounce the more justified, less bigoted, less fanatic attitude of Latin America toward the inherent evils of her established church. Americans rose against the trade restrictions issued for the protection of the interests of England with no greater bitterness than Latin Americans rise against the economic domination of the interests of the United States. It is these interests that make the smaller Latin-American nations virtual colonies, so far as the foreign policy of the United States is concerned, and the time is not far distant when the larger republics will be feeling exactly the same pressure. What Latin Americans today are asking are only the rights the early colonists in America demanded, or, as

Samuel Adams stated then: "First, a right to life; second, to liberty; third, to property."

I repeat, Protestant missionaries and dollar diplomacy are not good bedfellows. Let American youth determine which they wish to support. Let them determine whether the American history to be taught in their schools is to present the ideals of the founders of the republic or is to be disguised and mutilated to serve selfish aims. Nothing is so hard to maintain unfalteringly as consistency; nothing so easy to justify as the acts covered by the omniscient phrase, "the protection of American lives and property." No explanations are offered as to why American lives and property are endangered, or why they should be outside the domains of the United States to begin with. The Christian church is on trial in so far as Christians are to decide whether they shall follow the teachings of Christ, maintaining love and brotherhood to all as the cornerstone of society, or whether they shall scrap the doctrines of the Man of Galilee and adopt the doctrines of the Roman Cæsars, who likewise found themselves in conflict with the to them absurd beliefs of those early Christians.

§

I am not much interested in missionaries coming to teach us religion primarily, because you yourselves are not so sure of what your own religion is, and

because, as I have said before, we have reached the point of satiety in the matter of dogmas and creeds. I agree with Carlyle that "first must the dead letter of religion own itself dead and drop piecemeal into dust, if the living spirit of religion, freed from its charnel-house, is to arise on us, newborn of heaven, and with new healing under its wings." With him I agree that God is to be sought not through speculation or syllogism or the learning of schools, but through moral nature. We want missionaries with the sole requisite Henry Drummond prescribed for them, the ability to teach and practise love. We do not want them with theological degrees as their letters of introduction. We want them versed not in theology but versed in our own history, problems, and desires. We welcome them yet more when their culture is European as well as American, because our own culture is European and then they are not such strangers. We want missionaries not only of the church but of the social movements, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., the social agencies, the educational agencies—the "merchants of light," as Dr. Russell of Teachers College has called them. What a lot might be said of the inadequacies of our educational systems and youth's efforts to reorganize them!

The problem of Latin America, after all, is a social one; some have said it is a moral one, but I include the moral in the social. We want the social

missionaries to help raise the social condition of our Indians and poor. We want the educational missionaries to contribute to our knowledge, to lift our educational institutions out of their mediæval miasma. And we want women workers—why should missionaries always be men?—because through our women Latin America can advance by decades in a day. Shailer Mathews, commenting on the condemnation of the Y.M.C.A. by Pope Benedict XV on the grounds that its social work has been used as a basis for proselytizing among those who are members of the Roman Catholic Church, observed that such an act by the Pope "will bear interpretation of more importance than that of mere hostility to the Young Men's Christian Association. The Roman Catholic Church, with characteristic wisdom, has come to see that this is a day of laymen and of social service."

But your representatives must be broad-minded, fearless, progressive, great-hearted. We don't want the ones steeped in tradition, the bigoted, the short-sighted. Latin America is a new world and we need new minds. Latin America has a new spirit, and we need new leaders. We are throwing off the old, so don't send it us. The horizons are new horizons, the paths new paths. To tread old paths we need no help.

Dr. Fosdick has said that the answer to the question, why send missionaries to the Orient? is that the

United States is sending representatives of everything else, from liquor and unregulated factory systems to gunboats and prurient movies. The same applies to Latin America, although I would modify Dr. Fosdick's statement and say that not everything else is being represented. It took the romantic movement in literature two score and more years to cross the Atlantic from Spain. Emerson and Poe got to Latin America slightly faster, Beecher, Drummond, Lincoln have scarcely arrived. But why, I often wonder, should communications with Latin America be improved, if, as in the case of the cable, they serve only to pour into her more rapidly all the details of America's hold-ups, divorces, murders, night clubs, and Hollywood scandals? The sensational press gets down there quickly enough, and the Sunday editions of our newspapers, once presenting on their front pages only a mass of sober advertisements, now are emblazoned with all the color and revolting artistry needed to portray the latest social abnormalities. These are the windows that are being most easily opened to Latin America.

Are you going to show Latin America a path of ruthless materialism; tawdry, insufferable pseudo-democracy based on the principle of everyone for himself; an ideal of happiness and progress founded not on the simple honest life but on the glitter and sham of Babylon; morality and restraint thrown

away as ancient remnants of outworn tradition; equality that is only a pulling down to degrading levels instead of a lifting up to higher planes? What do we know of your inner life, of your true ideals, when all we see of you is through the artificial celluloid film; when all we read of you is through the sensational journal; when all we feel of you is the blunt end of the economic big stick, the bayonets of marines and the muzzles of gunboats? Are you going to let us know of your churches, of your literature, art, and religion, your social and welfare work, your humanitarian organizations, your desires for peace and brotherhood, your anti-materialism, if these things exist and if their merits are not proportionate to the dollars and cents invested in them? We are tired of the gilded measuring stick. We are anxious to measure purposes, ideals, the things of the spirit.

We students need the practical experience that the youth of Mexico have gained in their work for the Indian. Beautiful phrases of impractical idealism and brotherly love have yielded Latin-American students little fruit; and as for their interest in the laborer, this, alas, is too frequently forgotten when the student leaves the academic cloisters and begins to feel the benefits of the family lands and income. Our faith must rest more with the growing element in the youth movement of Latin America that sees things unblurred. The nucleus is probably in Mexico,

where experience has tempered dreams. There they are trying to solve the problems of education, of social justice, of rehabilitation of the Indian, of militarism, of nationalism, of imperialism, of morality, of the thousand and one matters that perplex Latin America. But leaders are needed. "A conflict has arisen between the younger and the older generations," declares Haya de la Torre, exiled Peruvian student. "The young are following no master, for they have denied all. Two or three men of outstanding importance, such as José Vasconcelos of Mexico and José Ingenieros in Argentina, have allied themselves with this movement. But the insurgence of youth is spontaneous and self-directed in every country of the great continent." This may be because the new forces are in the state the sociologist calls milling, preparatory to the emergence of a leader. Leaders have not yet appeared, but to deny all is a grave mistake. As Capdevila says: "Restlessness is good, but it happens that today the juvenile restlessness of America shows the desire not to recognize teachers or hierarchies. Then for this youth I have good news. Youth that is not disposed to follow a teacher gets nowhere."

Can the youth of America assist us? Yes, most assuredly so. Anything that the youth of America does in its struggle against imperialism, militarism, uncontrolled materialism, is work that redounds in

benefits to them, and to us, and to the world as a whole. Amongst ourselves we need educators and social workers. And amongst you we need friends to show us the true spirit of America. Work such as that of the World's Student Christian Federation is splendid. We need a flow of youthful student blood from country to country throughout the continent.

We know that the young people of the United States have been criticized by their elders as giving "astonishingly little evidence that they are looking at the world about them with an observant, critical and understanding eye."

"Your students are strangely docile in mind," said the Rev. A. Herbert Gray of Glasgow. "Everywhere else in the world I find the rising generation in conscious and intense rebellion against the conventions and methods of life and thought which dominated their fathers, and which led the world to the present disaster. But young Americans are not rebelling. They are eagerly getting ready to go on in the old way." To which statement Professor John Dewey and others give their assent, agreeing that the American student needs "a spirit of righteous indignation for good." Will not the youth of America awaken before the ideals of the founders of the nation are irretrievably obscured?

Latin America stands at the crossroads. Will she continue on the same road she has been following—

the old path traversed by the nations of the world? Or will she set out on a new path, as yet untraversed the whole way, but dreamt of for ages by the prophets of old—the high road of the brotherhood of man? Which shall it be?

E. K. JAIME-DANSKIN

Burlington, Vermont

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